NEW MASSES

August 28, 1941 15¢; In Canada 20¢

DYNAMITE IN CHINA

by Frederick V. Field

THE JOB CRISIS

by THE EDITORS

WHAT RUSSIAN WRITERS GAVE THE WORLD

by TAMARA MOTYLEVA

THE FETTERS OF "FREE TRADE"

by JAMES S. ALLEN

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE:

Professor with Machine-gun, by Alvah Bessie; The Strategy that Licked Japan, by Colonel T.; What India Wants, by A. S. R. Chari.

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BETWEEN OURSELVES

EVEN such a tremendous series of events as those of the past week are not wholly unalloyed joys when one is responsible for bringing out a weekly magazine. It is a matter of debate hereabouts which is the best day of the week for a major crisis to occur. D-Day found us on a Tuesday at the printer's with the whole magazine in pages in the process of being tailored to the limits of its geometry. We yanked off the cover and started rummaging in dusty trays of type for the biggest thing on hand, and squeezed the dummying of a whole new cover, plus the writing of copy, into a schedule that was already without give.

The Japanese surrender was kinder, from a journalist's point of view. One had more or less a week's warning to lay plans for most contingencies. So we got our cartoons together, commandeered Colonel T, Fred Field and others to take up the problems we knew would come with V-J Day and got busy. All day Monday we alternately worked and switched on the radio to discover what speculation was being made about what note which was moving via Berne, etc., holding our breaths and wondering whether to correct the magazine from the present to the past tense. Finally, as we were catching the last pied line, straightening the last caption, tracking down what we hoped was the last typo Tuesday night and were putting the magazine to bed, the flash came through that "this was IT." We stood around the radio set up on the make-up stones grinning at each other like hell. Outside, the town began to raise its voice in a hoarse crescendo that seemed to rise from the very rocks beneath our feet.

And then came the proclamation of the two-day holiday. All five boroughs either went home or stayed home for the great days for which we have worked and waited so long. And NEW MASSES rested in a great pile of uncut sheets on a dolly on floor five, because there was no elevator to lower it to the binder's. So, dear readers, if your magazine was late this week, count it one small penny of the price of our rejoicing.

OURSELVES, we joined in the rejoicing, shuffled through the confetti of our first great celebration in Times Square. Broadway belonged to New York that night, and not its visitors—to New York, and the GI's and the girls. Arm in arm, we moved with the eddying crowd around the *Times* building, watching the momentous words as they circled the electric sign and shouting with delight at the typo the excited electrician managed to get into Hirohito. At one point a tiny knot was singing the *Marseillaise* and waving a large French flag, but it was soon lost in the general din. Our Betty (Millard) was suddenly swallowed up by a bunch of boys in blue with white caps; when she finally emerged, too pink for her red hair, she still wasn't clear whether she'd been kissed by the Navy or the Merchant Marine. The lights flashed on the verdict of a French court: death for Marshal Petain—and the crowd, which knew its enemies, let out a roaring cheer. But the cheer was louder as the running lights announced that La Guardia, too, was calling a two-day holiday for New York. We worked our way up to Fiftieth Street, where we could look down on the rejoicing throng, a sea of heads extending far into the dark fingers of the avenues that led into the square. This was the heart of our city, and here we gravitated by the deep human logic which demands that our common rejoicing be shared by all of us with each other.

There were other "hearts" in the city that night. When we came home our street was alive with lights, crepe paper streamers from all the fire escapes and more banners than fly at a regatta. The juke box from the bar in the middle of the street was blaring it hot and there was dancing by young and old, jitterbug and polka, that went on to the small hours of the morning. Beer was free, and everybody put a nickel on the music box for the fun. It didn't matter who knew whom. You were asked and you danced. And if your partner spoke Italian, you managed somehow to communicate just the same. Cornelia Street, and Thompson, and Mott, and Sullivan, and countless others celebrated. But here, the blue or khaki uniform was rare. The boys were not yet home, but they were safe, and they would be home, and their mothers and fathers and sisters and wives and sweethearts laughed and danced and cheered for long hours.

V. S.

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DYNAMITE IN CHINA

By FREDERICK V. FIELD

UNLESS there is a rapid change, the United States will find itself in active political and military alliance with a reactionary, corrupt Chinese minority determined to rob the Chinese people of the fruits of victory and certain to throw East Asia into a turmoil which must inevitably threaten world peace and security. The fact that this Chinese minority happens to be the officially recognized government of China is no justification for what is happening, or for our part in it. It creates, however, a difficult complication.

The danger of an outbreak of civil war in China at the end of the war against Japan has long been foreseen, and we have frequently warned against it in the columns of this magazine. Now it is imminent. The only wartime measures which could have averted the crisis were not taken. Chinese unity should have been welded while the war was still in progress, when the opportunity for achieving democratic unity was much greater than today. The failure to achieve that unity threatens the most serious consequences.

During the war there was every reason in the world, militarily as well as political, why the United States should have backed the democratic elements within the Chinese nation. But with the shameful disregard of the necessities of the war our State Department and its ambassador to Chungking, Maj.-Gen. Patrick J. Hurley, did virtually everything possible to bolster the waning power and authority of a clique of gangsters in the central Chinese government at the expense of the great majority of Chinese aspiring to democracy.

So, the crisis is upon us. It is a deeply serious and dangerous one. Civil war on a large and bloody scale is virtually inevitable if Chungking is encouraged to proceed with present plans. And if large-scale disturbances break out within China there is no telling what may be the international consequences. Whatever the particulars, the Far East will have emerged the victor in the war against Japanese fascist-militarism only to become immersed in a struggle against Chinese reaction and feudalism bolstered by American imperialism.

The alarm cannot be sounded too loud. Consider the facts: toward the end of July, nine Kuomintang divisions were moved away from the Japanese front to launch a determined attack on the southern boundary of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, the principal base of the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies which have been carrying the entire burden of the war in North and Central China.

Consider another fact: Following Japan's offer of surrender but preceding the announcement of acceptance by the United Nations, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek sent orders to the Kuomintang troops to "intensify your war efforts and actively push forward" and in a separate order commanded the Communist-led armies "to remain at their present posts and wait for further instructions." Chiang simultaneously appealed to the Japanese puppet troops, the Chinese quislings, "to remain at the present assigned areas *to preserve peace and order and protect civilians.*" (Emphasis mine—F.V.F.) One needs a more familiar analogy to grasp the enormity of this outrage. It is as if upon receiving the offer of German surrender General Eisenhower had ordered the traitors, Petain and Laval, to maintain law and order in France, or as if the Norwegian Quisling had been ordered to stand by in order to protect Norwegian civilians!

Charles Nakata.

The situation grew worse. On August 15—the day after the formal surrender—Chiang Kai-shek, appealing directly to the Japanese troops and their officers, instructed the Japanese Supreme Commander in China: "Upon the cessation of hostilities, Japanese troops are temporarily permitted to retain their arms and equipment *for the maintenance of public order and communications.*" (Emphasis mine—F. V. F.) Even the disgraceful annals of Greece or Trieste do not reveal anything quite as brazenly and openly fascist as this.

The Chungking dictatorship's game is plain. The Kuomintang troops, whose main war effort since 1939 has been to blockade and attack the only Chinese armies actively engaging the enemy, are being called into action now, *after* the war against Japan has been won. Why? In order to prevent the Chinese people and their democratic leadership and fighting armies to consolidate the victory which they themselves have won. In order to capture China from the Chinese people, whose heroism and sacrifice saved it. But Kuomintang troops cannot carry out Chiang's orders, for the very simple reason that they don't happen to be on the essential fronts; they don't happen to be where the enemy is and therefore are in no position to disarm the Japanese.

Consequently Chiang appeals to the Chinese puppets who betrayed their nation and their people to "maintain law and order." Against whom? Certainly not the Japanese. No, against the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies who, because they were engaging the enemy up to the last moment, are now on the spot. But even that is not enough, for Chiang knows perfectly well that treacherous troops are not reliable even for his purposes. So he goes to the fan-

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tastic length of calling upon the Japanese troops to ally themselves with Chungking against the people of China!

THAT's China's end of it. You may be very certain that the democratic forces of China will do their full part in taking care of this situation. This is where we Americans come in. Chiang's troops, perhaps ninety to a hundred thousand of them, are by now well equipped with American lend-lease materials and trained in modern warfare by US officers. Ambassador Hurley and General Wedemeyer have worked out arrangements for lending Chiang American airplanes and, presumably, other equipment with which to fly Kuomintang troops into key Chinese cities. Regardless of what fine phrases our representatives express about American intentions of keeping out of China's internal problems, the plain fact of the matter is that we are in them up to our neck and we are in exclusively on the side of fascist reaction.

As matters now stand the United States is heavily implicated in the actions of the Chungking clique. For it is with the Chungking clique and them only which we deal. In fact, Hurley's principal contribution to the anti-democratic front was that he closed all official channels of contact between the United States and China's democratic forces and backed only the Chiang Kai-shek government. All of America's eggs are thus in one broken-down basket. There is not much security for us, or for China, or for the world, in that.

The American people face, in the Chinese situation, a tremendous problem. It is made the more difficult by the very immensity of the outrage which Chungking is attempting to commit. A direct appeal to enemy troops by the leader of one of the Big Four allies of the United Nations is an act almost beyond comprehension. Yet it must be rapidly understood and acted upon.

The American subsidy of the Chungking clique is a key to the whole problem. If that subsidy is withdrawn and the corrupt regime of Chiang Kai-shek is left to its own resources, the Chinese people will be able to handle the situation. We have, therefore, a great obligation that must be fulfilled. We must raise the cry throughout America that Chinese democracy must be supported and Chinese reaction abandoned to its inevitable fate. The Chinese people cannot do this job alone. To force upon them the entire burden of struggling not only against their own internal enemies but against the power of the United States as well spells disaster for us, as well as for them. Let us, therefore, do our part.

A Potsdam for Japan

THE Allied modification of the unconditional surrender of Japan with recognition of Emperor Hirohito was not a violation of the Potsdam terms in principle. An emperor or a king can be made to carry out unconditional terms of surrender as well as men without "royal" or "divine" blood, provided the victorious Allies sternly insist on the resolute fulfillment of the surrender terms. It was expected that Hirohito would be the instrument of the Allied Supreme Commander, but since the surrender he has acted in his usual role as puppet of the warlords, the landlords and the moneylords of Japan. The almost universal feeling of outrage at the Emperor's doubletalk and deliberate stalling has not ruffled our State Department, where the Emperor myth has long been cultivated by the Grew-Dooman policy of appeasement.

The predatory ruling groups of Japan are now working and speaking through their Emperor to avoid the consequences of the collapse of their world conquest venture. They are seeking to deflect the potential revolutionary anger of the disillusioned Japanese people from their own heads and to transform it into a religious fanatic hatred of the Allies. To date the Emperor has not admitted Japan's responsibility for initiating the war, he has not repudiated the war criminals and has not even admitted the defeat of his own war machine. He is playing for time to preserve the semi-feudal social-economic structure of Japan. In this endeavor he is receiving encouragement from sinister appeasement forces represented by Joseph C. Grew, who are alarmed over a possible Japanese democratic upheaval.

The much overmagnified Emperor worship in Japan has its historic roots in the servile feudal socio-economic relations in agriculture and has been extended into industrial enterprises through violent fascist methods including mass imprisonment, torture and outlawing of trade unions, peasant organizations and all democratic political bodies. Like the younger Nazi worship of Hitler it has been upheld by organized violence and brutal intimidation. The military and political defeat of the Japanese imperialist ruling classes has created the favorable historical moment for the disintegration of the long outdated hybrid feudal-imperialist structure. The defeated war criminals of Japan are now cleverly using their Emperor to save their necks and their cruel system of exploitation for a future bid for world conquest. Now is the time to put an end to the war menace in the Pacific by a thorough extirpation of the war makers and the social foundations that nourished them. The Emperor should be used for this purpose—but only on the condition that he recognizes his own role as an instrument of war makers in the past.

Stern and resolute measures, such as those adopted at Potsdam to exterminate German fascism, must be applied in Japan. Millions of Chinese, American, British and Soviet lives have been sacrificed to stop and smash the Japanese war machine. A new democratic Asia must be built as a guarantee that their lives were not spent in vain. Our State Department, having dispensed with the personal services of Mr. Grew, must also dispense with his policies. The appointment of Dean Acheson to the post of Undersecretary of State will become an improvement only when that Department adopts a true and consistent United Nations policy on Japan.

THE EDITORS.

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WHAT VICTORY MEANS

By JOSEPH NORTH

You don't enter a new era as you do a town on US Highway No. 1 where a signpost says "welcome to Bloomington." Mankind, living as it immemorially has with an eye to the season's crop, or latterly, to the output of the conveyor belt—or, as a small clique of America does, with sight glued to ticker tape—has required a decade or two, or as often as not, a century or more, to recognize the content of days like Oct. 12, 1492, Nov. 7, 1917, or Aug. 14, 1945. The borderline of historic eras is blurred: the topography of yesterday continues on into today and tomorrow. And so, generally, you pass into the future unwittingly, the same faces about you, the same highways, crossroads, trees, buildings, newspapers —but the relation of world forces has altered and your destiny with them. But no lightning plays across the heavens spelling out the words "You are in a new era."

I say all this because yesterday I met a friend who pointed at the headlines on China and said, "This is where I came in. Is this what we fought for? Is this why millions died and is this the victory we won?" And I replied along these lines:

I can well understand how you feel. Millions of us walk through our new, strange days of peacetime with foreboding. We do not like Chiang Kai-shek's thunder in the Far East, and the spectre of joblessness throws a shiver into a nation. But we will be doing ourselves and our responsibilities a grave disservice if we ignore a few facts that tower so near us we can easily overlook them, and thereby get a distorted picture of reality.

Here are a few facts, I told my friend: Japan's military surrender tokened the crumbling of Axis armed might. The blood and pain of the past decade and a half has not reduced mankind to fascisized robots: men stand a head higher today. *Let us never forget it might have been otherwise.* That is central.

The end of the war did not, could not, relieve man of his burdensome trials. Utopia was not the prize in this war, and any of us who thought so were manifestly wrong. But the dangers that loom today, the heritage of a world still predominantly capitalist, arise under new circumstances, in changed conditions, and the balance is tipped in the direction of the liberated millions. We have won the means to fight on and to fight more ably. In other words, the creative energies of hundreds of millions have been liberated, freed to mold a new day for ourselves and our children. The Axis has been destroyed; the just war has created the conditions whereby men may advance again. That the effort will be made to reduce our hard-earned pride is certain. But the circumstances for that sinister effort are vastly different today from yesterday's. The battle for progress is, as the trite but meaningful phrase has it, "on a higher level." There is a new relationship of forces. The democratic man is stronger; the fascist man weaker.

I TALLIED the score with my friend: first, I said, capitalism, which spawns wars and hunger, *is* weaker, its girders shaken. Mussolini gone, Hitler gone, the Sun God admits defeat. Where is the all-mighty, all-knowing Gestapo? Petain and Laval behind bars. The ambitions of the Municheers lie in the Wilhelmstrasse rubble and though their colleagues here and in Britain and in China continue their evil designs, they are obliged to look warily about them. Millions work as freemen today in Europe, who, a year ago, suffered the unprecedented despotism of the swastika. Man, look at Warsaw today. And Belgrade. At Prague. At Budapest. At Helsinki. At Sofia, at Brussels. At Rome and at Paris. The scars are there, but minds are freed and men can meet and talk—

Victor Selinsky

and *act*. In Berlin the flags of the Allies fly: the political parties meet. The word "Munich" is a scornful epithet on the lips of millions. And in Europe the overwhelming majority of the Krupps, Thyssens, Schneiders, Creusots, Michelins, stand naked as men who collaborated with the enemy. It will be a giant and all but insuperable task for them and theirs to reestablish themselves once again.

Yet we know all too well, they have not lost ambition. They will plot for a come-back so long as they breathe, so long as capitalism lives. The cloven hoofprint is seen in the pastures. Victory in the war does not permit an instant's relaxation, and the measures of our victory lies in vigilance. Grave dangers ahead? Of course. The Far East, for one.

We abhor the retention of Japan's old domestic structure; we warily watch events in China. Chiang Kai-shek brutally pursues his dictatorial plans for civil war and American policy marches with Chungking. But this we know: a hundred million men and women in China have lived under the bright promise of Yenan; and untold millions in that ocean of humanity called China have learned what Yenan means. The pent-up forces against feudalism, imperialism, have an elemental force that even the atom-bomb does not surpass.

The pent-up drive for progress is stronger, the restraining chains weaker. The war has wrought new conformations of democratic men. Labor, the world over, stands more powerful. Consider the advance of Britain's laboring millions (and the war-hardened rank and file will not long brook any performance of their government reminiscent of Ramsay MacDonald's); consider the municipal elections in France, the results of the balloting in Finland. What does reaction mean when it headlines the indubitable fact "Europe is going Left"? And not only Europe. Consider the World Trade Union Congress. Consider the relative position of the Soviet Union today *vis a vis* the enemies of mankind. And consider this: the USA possesses some 15,000,000 organized workingmen in contrast to some 4,000,000 after World War I. And in our country, labor, in great measure, has come to realize, as it moves toward its fulfillment as an independent

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political force, that it must move with its domestic allies.

Democracy in America *is* stronger, by dint of its trial these past fifteen years, and especially the war years. Let us not forget that as we stand in the gathering storm of a peace crisis. The archaic monster of joblessness threatens millions in America today. It will loom as a threat so long as capitalism manages to endure. Reaction has loosed the ugly hosts of fascism in its scheme to divide Negro from white, Jew from Gentile, native-born from foreign-born, veteran from labor. But the millions have been through a number of hard schools; they hold a diploma. They passed through the primary grades of the early thirties when they learned the meaning of massed strength to win unemployment insurance; through the high schools of the later thirties when they learned the meaning of organizing industrial unions and the unorganized; and through the university of war when they learned the fundamental lessons of political action and the meaning of alliance, of coalition, at home as well as abroad. They have created the conditions for the construction of an unprecedented anti-fascist democratic front that can oblige our authorities to fulfill the promise of Yalta and Teheran and Potsdam; that can win a lasting peace, that can ward off the worst evils of economic crisis. The conditions are there—the rest is up to the men of democracy.

Of course, I told my friend, there can be no guarantee of success. History has not underwritten victory. But this we know: our success will never come by push-button. It will arrive only if we are steadfastly on the *qui vive*, if we are tireless, if we remember what we have learned.

In brief, I am saying this: we have won the greatest war of all time. The democratic masses of men are more numerous, more powerful than ever before. They stand stronger in relation to their enemy than before the war. But I am simultaneously saying we may not rest on our laurels at risk of forfeiting our victory. The people can only be defeated if they fail to use their newly-won, hard-earned superiority in strength. And we, who realize that, must labor as never before—vigilantly, unified. We know that the advance of progress always carries with it the encroachment of its opposite. Reaction will battle all the more desperately. The desperate enemy is dangerous, is strong, but we help him if we underrate what we have won. Warriors fight best when they know their terrain.

STRATEGY THAT LICKED JAPAN

By COLONEL T.

IN THESE days when the Japanese government, Mr. Winston Churchill, the Hearst press, certain air generals with juvenile outlooks on world affairs and (quite naturally) proud scientists extol the atomic bomb as the basic factor which brought about the capitulation of Japan, it seems important and only fair to recapitulate the march of events since Pearl Harbor and to show what the determining factor of victory really was. It is important not only for the record, but also for the glory of the men of the American armed forces who in three years marched, sailed and flew from Pearl Harbor to the shores of Asia.

This march-sail-flight from Pearl Harbor to Tokyo Bay not only swept the Japanese from the immense expanse of the Pacific, but shattered many of the old basic concepts of naval warfare.

The idea that a naval war has to be fought with the capital ships available at the outset of the conflict because "warships take too long to build" was discarded by the prodigious achievements of the American shipyards. Our Navy has been practically quadrupled since the day of Pearl Harbor.

The idea that battle fleets are tied to their main bases by a "string" about 2,000 miles long has been discarded by American ingenuity and technique which built "floating bases" that accompanied our fleets to distances far greater than that from their stationary bases. Admiral Halsey refueled, replenished, reammunitioned and reprovisioned his Third Fleet at sea almost within sight of Japan, amid typhoons.

It was said that the battleship is the key-vessel of a battle fleet. During this war the battleship, although still useful, ceded its place of precedence to the aircraft carrier, whose bombers are her "artillery" and whose fighter planes are her main "armor."

The great Pacific campaign showed what complete integration of land, air and sea forces could do. More than anything else it showed the shallowness of the "air power alone," "sea power alone," "land power alone" so-called theories. It has demonstrated a lesson for the future: not to bank on one branch of the service to defeat a powerful foe—or to impose upon the world one's own pet type of "*pax*," for that matter. In the Pacific campaign feet have tramped, caissons have rolled, anchors have been weighed, wings have soared and marines have gone farther than from the halls of Montezuma to the shores of Tripoli. This prodigious collective tramping, rolling, soaring, weighing, cannot be superseded at the eleventh hour by a gadget, however marvelous and potentially mighty. This is simply not in the cards.

ON DECEMBER 7, 1941, the Japanese, unaware of the fact that their German partners had irretrievably lost the Battle of Moscow, attacked the US Navy, hoping to put it out of action for good. They succeeded in doing a lot of damage, but they did not knock us out. They left us to "die" of our wounds and turned elsewhere. But we were only wounded and the wound was far from mortal.

From Dec. 7, 1941 to May 8, 1942, the Japanese spread like an oil spot over an area of the globe with a radius of more than 2,000 miles. But the great "holiday" lasted only five months, approximately as long as the German "holiday" in Russia lasted (June-December, 1941). On May 4-8, 1942, the Japanese were stopped in the sea-air battle of the Coral Sea. Thus while Corregidor was surrendering (May 6, 1942) the Japanese were in fact already being forced on the defensive. A little less than one month later, the Japanese were soundly defeated in the Battle of Midway (June 3-6, 1942).

The Battle of the Coral Sea saved Australia and the Battle of Midway saved Hawaii. Our communications which were to lead to Japan, to the Philippines and to the Dutch East Indies, were protected. These victories were inherently defensive. They won time, time and more time for Detroit, Pittsburgh, Gary to "flex their muscles," much as lend-lease to the USSR and Britain gained time for us, and very much as

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the Battles of Stalingrad and El Alamein won time for us.

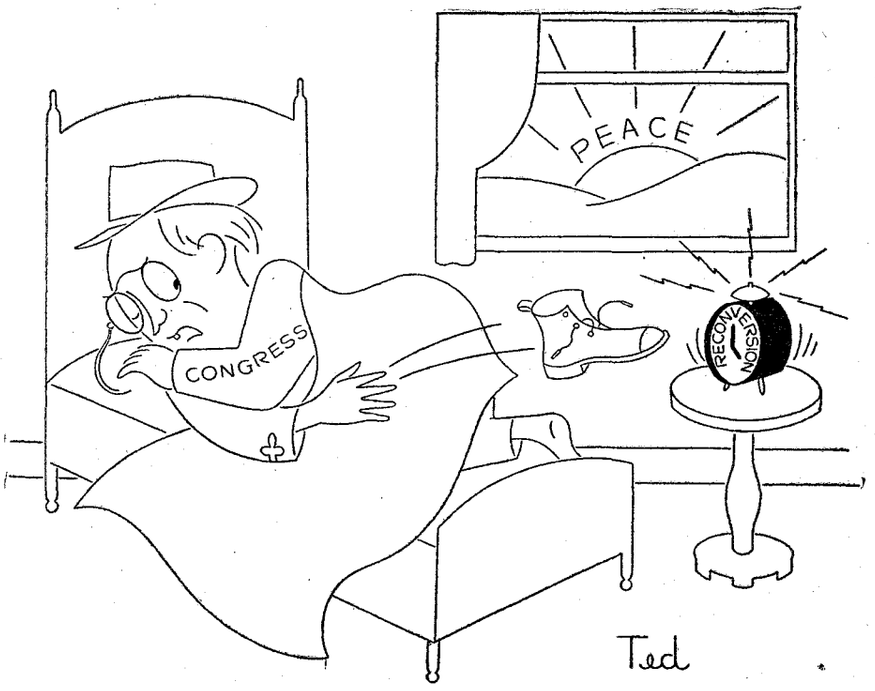
Guadalcanal, where our forces landed on August 7, 1942, pinpoints the turn of the war. After that day, which will go down as the most glorious one for the United States Marines, American forces never retreated in a strategic sense of the word, anywhere (the defeat we suffered at Savo Island when we lost four cruisers, our discomfiture at Kiska where the Japanese slipped out from under with half a score thousand men were only tactical setbacks of a more or less local character and did not entail any retreats).

The phase of comparatively limited operations which ushered in our switch to the offensive against Japan ended in the summer of 1943. It is interesting to note that the Soviet offensive which started at Kursk in August 1943 got under way simultaneously with our own general offensive against Japan, while our switch to the offensive in general at Guadalcanal was a close contemporary of Stalingrad and of our landing in North Africa.

The tremendous feat symbolized by the immortal name of Guadalcanal shines with still greater glory when one remembers that at the time our Pacific Fleet could put forward only one battleship and one carrier. In three years (1942-1945) labor in our shipyards created a navy second to none and perhaps stronger than all the other navies in the world combined. After the Japanese defeat in the Bismarck Sea (March 5, 1943) and our recapture of Kiska (Aug. 15, 1943) our grand non-stop offensive started with the landing at Tarawa and Makin (end of November, 1943). The march from the International dateline to the shores of Asia had begun. One arm of the pincers moved steadily up the Solomons chain of islands sweeping the northern shore of New Guinea at the same time.

ON FEB. 1, 1944 the first Japanese territory was invaded when our forces landed on Kwajalein atoll.

The invasion of the Marianas started eight days after D-day in Normandy, i.e. on June 14, 1944. The second arm of our strategic pincers had bypassed the enormous group of the Carolines with its great Japanese bases at Yap and Truk. The Carolines were now caught between both arms of the pincers. The leap-frogging tactics had reached a new high in their development with the bypassing of a group of islands 1500 miles long (east-west) and 750 miles wide (north-south).



"Oh how I hate to get up in the morning!"

In the spring of that year the British took a bad licking on the Burma-India frontier with the Japanese threatening Imphal, but luckily this setback did not assume strategic proportions because the Japanese were not strong enough to go at India hammer and tongs.

At that time the Chinese of Chiang Kai-shek continued in a military rut and while successful at times in a local sense (such as the consecutive battles of Changsha and the battles on the border of Yunnan and Indo-China), they were absolutely helpless to change the situation on the continent in the strategic sense of the word. But the Chinese "Reds" were containing half of Japanese troops in China and the Red Army was "hypnotizing" the better part of the Japanese army in Asia.

On Oct. 20, 1944 our troops started the invasion of the Philippines at Leyte and the battle of the Leyte Gulf took place.

Our naval and air power was now astride the Japanese life-line from the homeland to the southern riches of conquest. The Japanese navy was crippled.

The campaign in North Burma developed successfully.

We had our "tramplins" for the direct attack on Japan.

On Nov. 24, 1944 our Superforts made their first attack on Japan from the Marianas.

On Jan. 9, 1945 (just as the Red Army was about to start its march on Berlin from the Vistula) we landed on Luzon.

On February 17 we landed on Iwo Jima.

Finally, on April 1 the invasion of Okinawa, lasting eighty-two days, began.

We were now actually on Japanese soil proper. The Japanese leaders doubtless then knew that the jig was up. The Japanese air force based within an hour's flight from Okinawa could do nothing to our Navy, which had come 4,650 miles from Pearl Harbor.

On July 5 Admiral Halsey's Third Fleet started its campaign against the Japanese mainland sweeping it from Hokkaido down to Kyushu, probing with planes into the Inner Sea and destroying what was left of the Japanese Navy at Kobe and Kure. The rampage lasted almost three weeks, during which an incredible number of enemy ships and planes were destroyed. The great campaign was drawing to a close when the atomic bomb exploded on Hiroshima on August 6.

But the Japanese were not giving up yet.

On August 9 the Soviet Union entered the fray, having undertaken at Yalta (i.e. in January, 1945) to enter the war against Japan ninety days after the collapse of Germany. The "note" was met "fully and on time." Japan sued for peace.

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THE JOB CRISIS

AN EDITORIAL

THE confetti of the V-J Day celebrations has been swiftly followed by a shower of dismissal slips. America's war workers are on the way out. And peacetime jobs are not yet on the way in. In Detroit, the country's largest war center, unemployment was rising toward the 300,000 mark as one and a half billions in war contracts for that area were cancelled. In New York 153,000 were laid off immediately after V-J Day in CIO plants alone. In Los Angeles, 35,000 were fired; in Philadelphia, 20,000; in Chicago, 150,000; in Cleveland, 125,000; in New England, 200,000. And all this is only a beginning. Dropped quietly into the highly optimistic report last week of John W. Snyder, director of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion, is the information that unemployment is expected to rise to at least 5,000,000 within three months and may reach 8,000,000 before next spring. What a grim aftermath of victory in the great people's war against fascism!

It is a peculiarly capitalist—especially American capitalist—aftermath. That the shift from war to peace could not be accomplished without some dislocations and temporary unemployment goes without saying. But the difficulties are far greater than they need have been because of the failure to prepare for the rapid end of the war and because of the big business approach to reconversion which characterizes most government agencies. That approach was epitomized only ten weeks before the war's end in the report of J. A. Krug, chairman of the War Production Board, who urged faith in "the natural resilience of the economy," pooh-poohed unemployment, and warned against serious economic planning for peace.

Let there be no blinking of the dimensions of the problem or the dangers it involves. The millions now losing their jobs, augmented by returning servicemen, may become the harbingers of national disaster unless immediate adequate measures are taken to shift production rapidly and direct it toward levels approximately equal to those attained in the war. This means doubling our 1939 output. The achievement of this goal requires (a) planned reconversion, with the participation of government and labor as well as management; (b) maintenance of wartime purchasing power during the reconversion period; (c) expansion of purchasing power once peacetime production is under way in order that the massive cuts in war expenditures by the government may be replaced with equally massive civilian expenditures by the American people.

The mere elimination of controls is not synonymous with reconversion and guarantees nothing except that big business, which has piled up fabulous profits and strengthened its general economic position in the course of the war, will be free to pursue its private interest regardless of how it affects the public interest. The mere ending of controls will not, for example, cause such projects as the Ford Willow Run bomber plant to start producing civilian goods—at present there are no plans for either private or government operation of this huge factory which, together with its highway and housing facilities, cost the nation $140,000,000. And the dropping of controls carries no assurance that once factories reconvert, they will operate on a maximum production and employment basis. A survey conducted by the War Production Board shows that capacity peacetime production for seventy-two industries would be at the rate of $10,000,000,000 a year, but that these industries could reach the profit-making point at $5,300,000,000, or one-half capacity. Employment at the latter rate would be twenty-five percent less than during the war, whereas the attainment of 60,000,000 jobs would require a thirteen percent increase in wartime employment.

SECOND, what is being done to maintain purchasing power? The Snyder reports states that "measures must be taken to oppose the rapid shrinking of purchasing power if business is to reach and hold high levels of production and employment." The rapid shrinking of purchasing power is already taking place as a result of spreading unemployment and reductions in the working hours of those who still have jobs. A deflationary spiral is under way which will sweep into its path the incomes not only of industrial workers, but of white-collar workers, farmers, small manufacturers, storekeepers, and professional people. And thus far the only move made to halt it has been President Truman's statement making voluntary wage increases no longer subject to approval by the War Labor Board except where they will result in raising prices. This is an absolutely necessary step, but the trouble is that it is far too little and much too late. With millions unemployed, the bargaining position of the employed workers is considerably weakened and the winning of wage increases becomes more difficult. The administration's refusal over the course of months to heed the pleas of the labor movement for upward revision of the Little Steel formula has played directly into the hands of the employers and aggravated the threat to the entire nation from the sudden drop in purchasing power. Moreover, in interpreting the new wage policy, Chairman George W. Taylor of the WLB, while saying that wages could not be cut without board approval, stated that workers could be down-graded to lower-paying jobs. What is this but an official green light for a disguised wage-cutting drive? And it is an invitation to discriminate particularly against Negro workers.

As for the unemployed, nothing has yet been done to assure them the most basic of the four freedoms—freedom from want. Individual savings and the meager unemployment insurance payments (from which many workers are excluded under the present law) will not pay the food bills and the rent for very long. The administration, instead of summoning Congress from its vacation to take immediate action against mass unemployment and threatening economic crisis, is permitting it to amble back on September 5, nearly a month after V-J Day.

It is clear that, besides maintaining and strengthening price and rent control, a number of emergency measures are necessary if the sag in purchasing power is not to drag the nation into a paralyzing depression which will blot out all hope of 60,000,000 jobs and a decent livelihood for the middle-class groups whose own welfare is tied to labor's. First on the order of business should be the granting of severance pay to every worker who loses his job. We congratulate the *Daily Worker* for advancing this proposal, which even the New York *Times* deems necessary. The *Daily Worker* points out that the sudden end of the war is saving the nation $30,000,000,000 in war expenditures for the rest of the year. If only

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a small portion of this, say, $10,000,000,000, were used to provide severance pay, it would be an invaluable investment in national security and a stable peace.

Beyond this there are the minimal protective measures which are already before Congress and which Congress has thus far sabotaged: the twenty-five dollars weekly for twenty-six weeks unemployment insurance bill, the Pepper sixty-five-cent-an-hour minimum wage bill, the permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee measure, the Murray-Patman full employment bill, the Wagner-Ellender housing bill, the Wagner-Murray-Dingell social security bill, the amendments to liberalize the GI Bill of Rights, the tax relief for low-income groups. In addition, the remaining $20,000,000,000 that would ordinarily have been spent for war, should be used to finance a large-scale federal-state public works program.

To blast such a program through Congress will require the full energy of all sections of the labor movement—CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods—and of all other forward-looking organizations. It will require action on a community as well as a national scale. Our country faces a grave crisis. The monopolists can afford it, but the people can't. Fortunately, the people's strength has grown vastly since the early thirties. The fight for America's future can be won.

●

Goebbels is dead, but Smythe goes marching on. **At right is an excerpt from a leaflet written by Edward James Smythe, one of the twenty-six seditionists in the trial that was ended by the death of presiding Judge Eicher. This is a sample of the fascist propaganda to which our nation is exposed, today, a few days after V-J Day. It is part of the effort to divide the veterans from labor, and it utilizes the classic Hitler technique of anti-Semitism and Red-baiting. Today with millions of veterans returning home, with unemployment soaring, the spokesmen for fascism are at their old treacherous stands sowing division and hate. America must demand that the seditionists be returned to trial, that fascists be stopped from carrying on Goebbels' work which imperils our future. A million American casualties, tens of millions dead in World War II, gave all they had to prevent such leaflets from poisoning the wellstreams of democracy.**

BULLETIN No. ONE.

PERSECUTION OF Protestant War Veterans Of The United States

MUST STOP! AND WILL STOP!

WHEN WAS THE PROTESTANT WAR VETERANS OF THE UNITED STATES FIRST ORGANIZED?
WHY WAS IT ORGANIZED? . . . FOR WHAT PURPOSE?

The Protestant War Veterans Of The United States, was first organized in the City of New York in the early part of 1937.

It was organized to protect the interests of Protestant War Veterans Of These United States who were being subjected to the most vile and vicious PERSECUTION and ABUSE and DISCRIMINATION by the highly organized communist minority that had taken control of VETERANS RELIEF and all other agencies such as the W. P. A. in the City of New York under the protection of the Communist LaGuardia, and his Alien HENCHMEN.

When it became known that we were organizing to protect and defend our rights both POLITICAL and ECONOMIC as guaranteed us under the FEDERAL CONSTITUTION a well organized and highly financed campaign of "SMEAR" and slander, well beyond the point of PERSECUTION was conducted against us, this campaign headed by what Westbrook Pegler (Internationally known newspaperman) called Dean Of the Gents Room Journalists none other than the one who calls himself "WALTER WINCHELL" but whose right name is a matter of public record . . . Although this campaign of HATRED has never ceased we have never for a moment stopped in our campaign to fight the Alien ENEMIES of this "OUR COUNTRY".

We believed then (as we do now) that we have the right to organize, just as the Catholic War Veterans have, and the Jewish War Veterans have, but the Alien enemies of this Christian Republic, who HATE and DESPISE PROTESTANTS and PROTESTANTISM, like Volter (Vomit) Vinchell, believe otherwise, however the Protestant majority will decide that, and give the answer

We believe in the Divine Guidance of Almighty God, we believe [illegible] Bill Of Rights, we intend to defend and preserve [illegible] enemies. We believe in the Public [illegible] tion. We believe in [illegible] to Worship [illegible]

ORGANIZERS WANTED AT ONCE

[illegible] against the overthrow of this Government [illegible] by the provisions of the Federal Constitution.

[illegible] CONTROL of this government by Alien Minority groups, whose loyalty lies [illegible] America but across the seas. We are against any Foreign entanglements, and we are against Fighting England's battles for control of her power politics.

We are for America First, Last and Always, this is our Country, we love it and we intend to preserve it and all its institutions, if you feel that you agree with the principles of this organization, and you are a BORN CHRISTIAN and a PROTESTANT we want you to join with us in this great crusade.

WE ARE NOT LIBERALS. WE ARE NOT INTERNATIONALISTS. WE ARE NOT COMMUNISTS. WE ARE NOT NAZIS. WE ARE NOT FASCISTS. WE ARE CONSERVATIVES IN THE BEST AMERICAN TRADITION. WE ARE FANATICAL NATIONALISTS . . . AND WE ARE REAL ONE HUNDRED PER CENT AMERICANS, PROUD OF OUR HERITAGE IN THE PROTESTANT RELIGIOUS FAITH. WE ARE NOT ASHAMED OF WHAT WE ARE, AND WE BELIEVE IN GOD AND COUNTRY.

Edward James Smythe

EDWARD JAMES SMYTHE,
CHAIRMAN,
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

PROTESTANT WAR VETERANS OF THE UNITED STATES, INC
1211-A CONNECTICUT AVENUE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

A COMPLETE LIST OF COMMUNIST ANTI-PROTESTANT SMEAR GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS WILL BE PUBLISHED IN THE NEXT BULLETIN.

FACTS THAT YOU SHOULD KNOW

Jewish-Communist Persecution Against Protestant War Veterans

MUST STOP! OR WE WILL STOP IT!

ATTENTION—PROTESTANT VETERANS!

The American Veterans Committee (A Jew-Communist Sidney Hillman controlled organization) has stated that they are going to SMASH and DESTROY this PROTESTANT WAR VETERANS OF THE UNITED STATES, INC. . . . WELL OUR ANSWER to this is, when they are READY, we are likewise ready, but they will find the going plenty rough, we will fight these DIRTY, STINKING COMMUNISTS in the streets if necessary in the DEFENSE of our RELIGIOUS, SOCIAL, POLITICAL and ECONOMIC RIGHTS.

Do you know! That this is the only War Veterans group in the Country not under Jew control and domination. This is a Protestant organization, or, for and by Protestants only.

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MY FRIEND LARRY

By CHARLES GOLDBERG

We were walking over to the subway on our way to see Josephine and Larry and their new baby. My wife spied a bakery open for business and we went in and bought a large chocolate cake. We happened to be on diets ourselves, but today was different. Today was a holiday. The war was over.

I bought a newspaper. On the train ride to 207th Street, we split it up and started reading. Ruth had the main section; I turned to the sporting page. "CUBS MANGLE DODGERS, 20—6." Had this happened twenty-five years ago, I would have been saddened for days. At that time the Big Things had been my father's automobile, my baseball mitt, and the Dodgers. Now, I could turn stoically to the racing charts.

After a while we exchanged sections of the newspaper, and I glanced at the headlines. "SNYDER SEES 5,000,000 IDLE IN NOVEMBER." News indeed. Then I thought, "No, I don't think I'll be one of them." I looked up. Across the aisle a man had a newspaper in his lap. The headlines were upside down. Slowly I spelled them out. "3,500,000 TO LOSE JOBS IN TEN DAYS."

I looked down at my paper. Quite a difference of opinion. Ruth pointed to the headline featuring Mr. Snyder's prediction. I nodded.

Josephine and Larry were glad to see us and we were pleased to note how happy they were about their new baby, since it had taken them several years to decide it was a good idea. They admitted us to the nursery (formerly their own bedroom; now they slept in the living room) and we tiptoed over to the bassinet. She was asleep, two weeks old. In typical new-father pantomime Larry admonished us just to look . . . no talk, you'll wake her up. We came back to the living room and Ruth said, "Josie, she's a beautiful baby, beautiful!"

"Yeah," Larry said, grinning, "why not? Look at her handsome old man."

"Handsome!" Josie exclaimed. "Skin and bones, that's all. Eats like a horse and weighs 110 pounds. You'd think it was the depression."

"We brought a cake," I said. "How about starting to try to fatten him up?"

We had some cake, and tea, and then because the war was over and his kid brother was still alive in the Pacific, Larry brought out a bottle of raspberry cordial. "A toast," he said, feeling very serious, I'm sure, but horsing it a little, "a toast to victory and a future without war."

"I'll buy that," Josephine said, "I'm not going to raise my kid to be a Wac."

We all drank. And because Larry knew I liked jazz, he played some of his best Louis Armstrongs. I didn't listen as closely as I might have (Larry's got some rare and wonderful Armstrongs) because I kept thinking: this guy has a brand-new baby, and he's a draftsman in a war plant, and the war is over, and the headlines look lousy.

Then the baby woke up, and Josephine said it was because we had to play the phonograph, and Larry said both doors were closed and anyway he wasn't going to pamper the baby and he wasn't going to live in a vacuum. "And furthermore, maybe she's tired of sleeping. Maybe she just woke up!"

Josie said, "Yeah—she had half an hour to go before waking up on schedule," and she dashed into the nursery.

Ruth said, "I'm going in to watch." Larry started putting his records away. "Oh, here it is . . . just what I want you to hear."

"What?"

"*Mahogany Hall Stomp.*"

"O.K."

It was fine. Halfway through, Louis started taking it for a ride, terrific. His ideas were thrilling. We kept nodding to each other every few moments. But when the record ended I said, "Hey Larry—what's doing at the plant?"

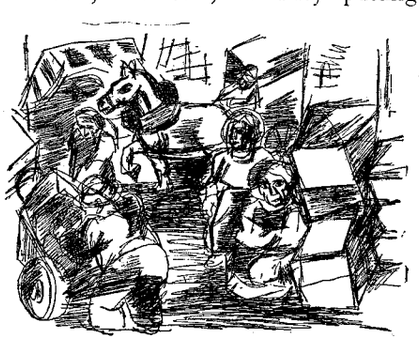
"Two days off," he replied. "Wanna hear the other side?"

"I know," I replied. "But what gives, have you heard anything?"

"You mean about reconversion?"

"Yeah."

"Well," he said, carefully putting *Mahogany Hall Stomp* back into the album, "it's a big question mark."



Herbert Kruckman

That's why he's so thin, I thought. Keeps it to himself. Food for the ulcer that put him in 4-F. "What's the talk around?" I said.

"Nothing much . . . just a notice on the bulletin board . . . two days off." He sat down, stretching his moccasined feet comfortably. "They've been talking about switching some of the photographic and sound equipment stuff back into civilian use . . . I guess that's what'll happen." He sat up suddenly. "Want another drink or something?"

"No, thanks," I said. "I'm comfortable just as I am. It's real cool here."

"Inwood," he said seriously, "is the best spot in the city to bring up a kid in. We could use another bedroom and we'll try to dig up an apartment—four rooms. But it's gotta be up here in Inwood. Best air in town, parks . . . and look at this apartment." He was really going now. "Look at those casement windows, the only casement windows I ever saw that aren't drafty in the winter. Built-in laundry hamper, too, and a kitchen you can really sit down in. None of your midtown fancy impractical dumps for us!"

"Yay, Inwood!" I said. My mind went back ten years. Larry and I, just out of school, filled with thoughts of beauty and hopes of landing jobs in a publishing house ("something with a future") ended up washing dishes together in a restaurant in Fulton Street, Brooklyn.

"Worried about washing dishes, Larry?" I said, lighting a cigarette.

"No," Larry said. "I'm not basically worried." He pursed his lips. "Not *very* basically."

Josephine and Ruth came back and it was time for us to go. At the door Josephine said, "What's the latest? I haven't seen a paper all day." She noticed mine, folded under my arm. "Leave it, huh?"

"I haven't had a chance to look at it yet."

"You can get another one at the subway," Josie said. "Come on!"

Still folded, I threw it onto the bench in the foyer, as far away from them as I could. Then we left.

This happened on Thursday, second day of New York's mass celebration of the end of the war.

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BONUS FOR GI'S?

By ROBERT RAVEN

REACTIONARY big business has for some time been conducting a well-financed campaign to pit the soldiers at the front against labor at home. The constant repetition and exaggeration of strike stories have been calculated to prove to the soldier that labor's interest in victory is secondary, and that labor is knifing the men at the front. The assiduously-developed myth of "luxury" wages is likewise intended to arouse in the soldier a resentment against labor. There is no doubt that this reactionary campaign has made important inroads on the unity of the two sections of the American people that contributed most to victory.

Reactionary interests now plan to clinch their anti-union drive among the veterans by championing the veteran's "bonus." With the "bonus" as bait, they hope to transform the soldiers and sailors into a fascist army against labor. It is therefore not surprising to hear the demagogic cry of "bonus for our heroes" from one of America's leading fascists, Representative Rankin.

But what does the American soldier want? He wants an America free of the fascism which he has fought to destroy overseas. He wants to return to his job and not find his real wages cut while he was away. He wants a GI bill that will adequately cover the disabilities incurred in service and will help him adjust to normal life. On the "bonus" question he is confused.

The word "bonus" is defined by Webster as "something given in addition to what is ordinarily received by, *or strictly due to*, the recipient" (my emphasis—R.R.). The American soldier is not a mercenary or a beggar. He is not in a "protection" racket nor does he demand gratuities. At the same time the GI does not like to be taken for a ride. He demands and will fight for a just and adequate compensation, an adjustment that does not violate his inherent sense of dignity.

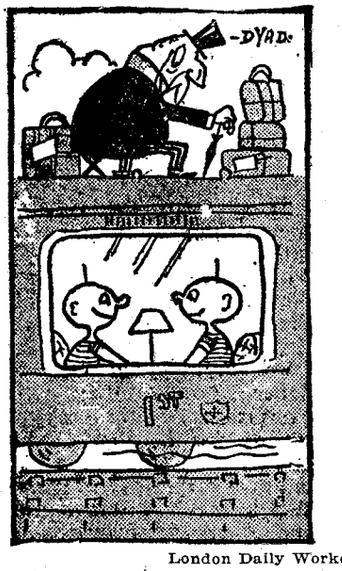
An adjusted payment, then, must be based on a true appraisal of the sacrifices made and benefits received in this war of national survival. The GI has the most difficult and the most dangerous role in this war. He has sacrificed years of education, development of his skill, and opportunities to found his future in the wartime period of relative prosperity. He has been separated from his home, his family and his friends. In return for these sacrifices made by himself and his family, his pay has been placed in the lowest category. At the same time the worker has been working long hours under difficult conditions and his grievances are cynically dismissed by employers with the phrase, "there's a war on." The accident rate in industry has reached an all-time high. The worker's pay, despite the big business propaganda of "luxury" wages, has been held down under the fifteen percent Little Steel Formula, while the cost of living has risen far above this figure. He has in reality suffered a wage cut during this war boom.

THE payoff comes with a glance at the real beneficiaries of the war—the profit makers. Corporation profits (after taxes) for 1936 through 1939 inclusive amounted to an average of $3,400,000,000 annually. But in the war years, the profits (after taxes) have skyrocketed. In 1944 they were $10,000,000,000, and the profits for 1945 will show an even greater rise. It is clear then, that while labor struggled to hold its own and the soldier sacrificed his civilian pay, the big industrialists have had an orgy of war profiteering.

The interests of labor and the soldier are closely joined. The defeat of fascism in this country depends upon the veteran's realizing and understanding clearly this identity of interests. Labor, then must do more than second Rankin's cry of "bonus." Labor must adopt such a compensation plan as would integrate the common interests of both labor and veterans into a functional program for its realization.

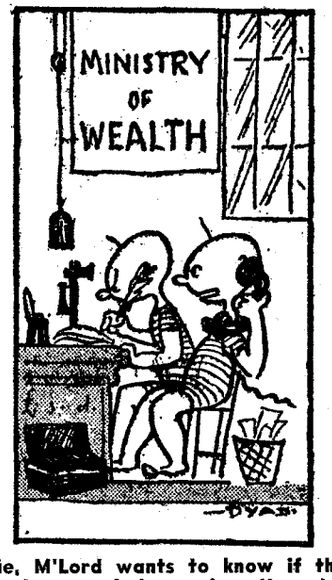
In view of these considerations, I propose to labor the adoption of a soldier-civilian differential plan. This plan would be based on the differential between the serviceman's pay in the armed forces, including allotments, and that which he individually might have earned in his occupation from the time of induction, through his service period, and including all wage increases. Since some servicemen and women were students, farmers, or earning wages under subsistence levels, the minimum earnings to be used as the civilian figure must be $2,500 per year, an accepted minimum health and decency level. Similar provision must be made for small businessmen and professionals. Earned income, however, must be limited in computing this differential to not more than $5,000 per annum. The funds that would be required to cover this soldier-civilian differential payment must be raised by corporate income and excess profit taxation. Payments should begin one year

War Babies



London Daily Worker.

"'Ow d'you like being in power, Alfie?"



"Alfie, M'Lord wants to know if there's any chance of increasing the old-age pension?"

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after discharge and in no way prejudice the GI bill of rights which provides for mustering out pay and veterans' unemployment insurance benefits. Payments should be made at the rate of their accumulation. This means that approximately fifteen to twenty billion dollars a year will be added to the consuming power to the people for the next four or five years and help stabilize postwar economy.

Bonus plans based on length and character of service such as that of R. J. Thomas, president of the United Automobile Workers-CIO, are of course much superior to the demagogic Rankin gift "bonus." But the R. J. Thomas plan is a static one. It fails to integrate the interests of labor and the veterans and places labor in the position of being just another "friend" of the veterans. The two valuable features of the Thomas plan, the considerations of length and character of service, are essentially incorporated in the soldier-civilian differential plan. Length of service is implicit. Compensation for character of service is essentially the same principle that affects overtime and incentive wage rates. For example, soldiers in combat are "at work" double and triple ordinary daily hours and should be compensated accordingly in the same manner as if they had worked a double or triple shift.

The important difference between the above proposal and all so-called "bonus" plans is that the soldier-civilian differential payment most effectively shows the soldier, sailor, marine, WAC, WAVE and veteran, that his or her best interests and hopes for a decent standard of living are tied to the aspirations of labor. Every increase won by labor is an increase for the soldier fighting at the front. He will receive it both in the accumulated compensation due him in the soldier-civilian differential payment and in the higher wages he will receive as a worker after discharge.

The soldier-civilian differential plan will make clear to every soldier in the foxhole that while he fights in the interest of the whole people, his particular interest as a worker, farmer, professional, or small businessman is being protected by organized labor on the home front against our domestic fascists. Rather than resent organized labor's struggle, he as a soldier at the front will have every reason to be its champion.

Contributions, criticisms, and suggestions by GI readers will be welcomed and considered in the improvement of this plan.

Mr. Raven is a veteran of the Spanish war for democracy, in which he was blinded. We are publishing his article as part of a discussion of an important issue.

WHAT INDIA WANTS

By A. S. R. CHARI

Bombay (by mail).

WITH British Labor's overwhelming victory at the polls, all sections of Indian opinion are looking eagerly to the new government to take steps to smash the political deadlock in this country. They want to see the work done at the Simla Conference followed by fresh negotiations with the leaders of the political parties and the establishment of an interim National Government.

Although India carries bitter memories of the days when Ramsay MacDonald, in the name of the Labor Party, followed Tory policy, she is not basing her approach on Labor's past record. India is confident that the Labor and progressive forces in Britain will fulfill the pledges that were given at the Labor Party's annual conference.

The question arises now as to how the Labor government should approach the problem after the Simla breakdown.

It may be argued that Indian disunity makes advance difficult. But it must be firmly stated that it was Tory trickery that made agreement between the Indian parties difficult.

The request from Congress and the Moslem League for an equal number of seats each in a new Executive Council was changed by the Tories in such a manner that seats would have been apportioned on communal lines—Hindu and Moslem.

This move, of course, immediately questioned the representative character of the League and the Congress. It meant that the Congress, for instance, would have been labelled a Hindu organization, whereas it actually has within its ranks many Moslems.

Two imperial voices spoke at Simla. Lord Wavell told the Congress that the League's demands were unreasonable, while his assistants told the League that the Congress' demand for Moslem seats would never be conceded. The League was also assured that no government would be formed unless they came in, thus giving the League power of veto during the conference.

The Tories here and in Britain think they have won. Mr. Attlee's government must, therefore, disillusion them and immediately take steps to reverse Tory policy.

Lord Wavell must be instructed to form an interim government on the basis of the maximum agreement already achieved at Simla.

This would mean that four out of five Moslem seats will go to the League and the fifth to a non-party Moslem acceptable to both the Congress and the League.

Definite assurances must be given to the League that the interim government will in no way prejudice the issue of Pakistan (the League's demand for Moslem autonomy).

General elections must be held for the Central Legislative Assembly and the Provincial Assemblies and the interim government then reconstituted in accordance with the results.

India also expects the Labor government to declare a general amnesty for all political prisoners. This would include some who have been in jail for ten and fifteen years.

Indians want to see the Congress organizations legal again and the return of all funds and property to its committees. The rule of governors in the provinces must be ended and all ordinances curtailing civic liberties withdrawn. Indian workers want to see everywhere the recognition of their trade unions and to know that their right to collective bargaining shall not be infringed. They want their living standards raised and working conditions bettered.

These are the things that India needs and expects from the new Labor government. It is confident that this government will extend the hand of friendship and overcome the deadlock imposed by the once all-powerful Tory diehards.

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PROFESSOR WITH MACHINE-GUN

By ALVAH BESSIE

THERE are some people—and David McKelvy White was one of them—who have no "personal history." This statement, of course, is both true and false. But when you sit down to write about a man you have known for years, to whom you have always felt close, and discover that there are no "facts" you can relate, no colorful "incidents" you can retell, you arrive at such a conclusion. So you explore it.

And when you explore it you discover that the statement *is*—both true and false. Certainly Dave White had a personal history. There were very few people who knew it, however. Why was that? Perhaps I can tell you. Perhaps you know, yourself. But this was known about Dave—and I must call him that, though there were those who called him McKelvy (and there were those who called him McWhite). This was known: when he died suddenly, three weeks ago, he was forty-four years old. He was the son of a former governor of the state of Ohio. He was a Communist. He was—for many years—a teacher of English composition and literature at Brooklyn College. That was before he went to Spain in 1937.

He went to Spain suddenly, unexpectedly. One day he sat with us at a meeting, discussing the issues around the people's front movement of the time—then he was gone. Then—weeks later—a postcard came from him, from Spain. The professor had abandoned his classroom and taken up a machine-gun. He fought with that machine-gun at Brunete, and this is what his commander, Milton Wolff, wrote about him: "I was grateful for the ten months I had spent in a CCC camp, for I had developed the strength, if nothing else, to make me almost equal to the task. I couldn't help marveling at the sight of men like David McKelvy White, a professor who had probably never performed a day's manual labor in his life, struggling gamely and silently under their loads. . . ."

That was one measure of the man. He was a teacher; he became a soldier. He was not physically strong; he struggled gamely under the load. It was the load that killed Dave White; his heart gave out. I say—and it can be proved—that Spain and the people's struggle that grew out of Spain killed Dave White as certainly as he might have been killed by fascist bullets at Brunete.

For the professor came back. Brooklyn College would not have him any more and I'm not at all sure that he wanted to go back to Brooklyn College. There was a bigger job to do. He did it. Few people will ever know what that job entailed—executive secretary of The Friends of the Lincoln Battalion. It was a killing job. It kept Dave White working from early morning to late at night for well over two years. While the war in Spain was still on, his was the job of maintaining contact with the men, acting as liaison between them and their friends and relatives at home. He wrote endlessly; he sparked endless delegations to Washington, fighting to lift the embargo. He organized letters, telegrams, protests, meetings, demonstrations. He spoke in public. He saw that packages were sent to the men in Spain; that the men in Spain got letters. He needled them to write their friends.

He was the administrator of funds, the mainspring of endless activities undertaken to educate and clarify our people on the issues. He then handled the tremendous and complicated details of returning the men from Spain when their job was done—seeing that they got rooms, clothes, medical and dental care, money to keep them going, jobs. He was a dynamo of energy, but even a dynamo wears out. When you looked at his thin, lined face during those days you could wonder—both at the dynamo and its limitations. But the job finally "ended." The men were back . . . and the world ran on into World War II.

DAVE did many things between 1939 and 1945. I could not detail them. He was in Detroit for some time, head of the educational department in that state for the Communist movement. (In Detroit, in his spare time, he took up flying again, for flying had been a long-time love of his. Don't ask me how he did it; flying well takes concentration, application, study. He did his educational work, and he went in for acrobatic flying, too. He loved it.)

But it is symbolic and typical that Dave came back to New York last fall and became executive secretary of the Veterans of the Lincoln Brigade, when the issue of Spain again rose into prominence. A letter from a friend says, "Dave's passing was a real body blow, personally and politically. He was the strongest, steadiest force in the break-with-Franco campaign, and we just can't replace him."

Dave was in San Francisco during the conference. There he conferred with Negrin, with countless other people who were working to break relations with Franco's fascist regime. At the same time, he wrote and published a pamphlet on the subject. Then he was back in New York, writing a bulletin, *News From Spain;* editing a regular paper, *Volunteer for Liberty,* for the vets. He was in Washington and New York. And he continued to fly. The Sunday before the Tuesday he died, he was practicing snap-rolls in a Fairchild Army trainer over New Jersey. He found it relaxing. Have you ever tried a snap-roll? Or the other maneuvers in which Dave delighted—a chandelle, a slow-roll, a loop, an Immelman?

"We just can't replace him." Don't we know? Neither can we replace the others we have lost. And when you have said this, you have said precisely nothing. For every soldier who dies in battle, a "replacement" must be found if the battle is to be won. But when a soldier like McKelvy White falls, you must find ten replacements — perhaps twenty.

At one and the same time it is possible to say about McKelvy White, "I knew him intimately; I felt he was my friend," and— "I didn't know anything about him—personally; I don't know what I could write about him, if I tried." The statement about his personal history therefore remains true and false. Why?

Because there are people—like Dave White, like Joe Hecht, who died in Germany, like Hermann Bottcher, who died on Leyte; like endless others we could name or whose names we do not know—there are people who are better listeners than talkers. When you sat with Dave *you* invariably talked; and he invariably listened. It was because he was more interested in you than he was in himself. There *are* people like that. When such people sit with other people, they listen; they learn; they project themselves into *you,* and at the same time you feel you have listened to wisdom, you have felt love, and you *have.*

"Because I am involved in mankind," wrote John Donne, long before Hemingway misused the quotation. The line could have been written for Dave White.

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THE FETTERS OF "FREE TRADE"

By JAMES S. ALLEN

This is an excerpt from a book, "Cartels, Monopoly and the Peace," to be published in the fall. Mr. Allen is the author of two other books, "The Negro Question in the United States" and "Reconstruction: The Battle for Democracy." He was honorably discharged from the Army last October and is now foreign editor of "The Worker." Another excerpt from his new book appeared in our August 14 issue.

AMERICAN policy stresses the economic freedoms—free enterprise, free competition, free access and free trade. These are the four freedoms of economic expansionism. They give very liberal flavoring to the foreign economic policy of the United States. The phrase most often used to describe this policy is: "Free access to the raw materials and markets of the world." This phrase or thought can be found in the Atlantic Charter, the "repayment" clause of the lend-lease agreements and in practically every programmatic statement of American policy. Hand in hand with "free access" is emphasized the need to remove restrictions and barriers, of a governmental or cartel nature, which interfere with the expansion of world trade, and especially American trade.

In high political and business circles little opposition can be found to these broad objectives. Differences appear on methods and techniques, and some of these differences are important from the viewpoint of political contact with other nations. But there can be no doubt that big business and government, working together, are engaged in a crusade to impose the "free access" program upon the rest of the world. The industrial supremacy enjoyed by the United States, the vast capital resources at the disposal of its corporations and the more active political role of the country in world affairs are powerful instruments in the crusade.

If Britain seeks to reform regional blocs dominated by herself through a system of cartelized and inter-government controls, the United States is no less concerned with maintaining regional blocs tied to its own "free trade" program. The Inter-American Conference at Mexico City in February-March 1945 offers important evidence of the technique and the objective of the world economic policy of the United States. The Economic Charter of the Americas, introduced by the United States and passed with some amendments, is a programmatic statement of policy, reflecting basically the expansionist program of the American monopolists. It clearly embodies the objective of establishing the unchallenged primacy of the "free competition"—that is, the monopoly—system in the Americas. It is therefore worth examining in some detail.

The ten principles enunciated in the Charter can be summed up as follows:

(1) the attainment of higher levels of living through expanding domestic and foreign trade and investment;

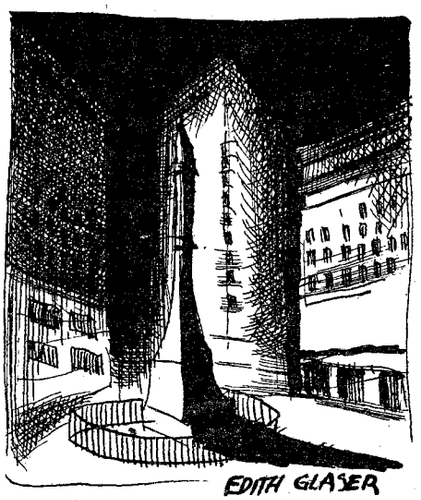
(2) equality of access by all nations to trade, raw materials and producers' goods, the latter being added on the insistence of the Latin American delegations;

(3) reduction of all barriers to trade, with the qualifying phrase, introduced by the Latin Americans, "in accordance with the purpose of assuring all peoples of the world high levels of living and the sound development of their economies";

(4) inter-government action to prevent cartel practices which "obstruct international trade, stifle competition, and interfere with the maximum efficiency of production and fair competitive prices to consumers";

(5) elimination of the "excesses which may result from economic nationalism";

(6) "The American Republics will undertake to afford ample facilities for the free movement and investment of capital giving equal treatment to national and foreign capital, except (added under Latin American pressure) when the investment of the latter would be contrary to the fundamental principles of public interest";



(7) support to the Bretton Woods proposals for an international bank and a world monetary fund, and to the food and agricultural organization of the United Nations;

(8) promotion of the system of private enterprise and "to remove as far as possible obstacles which retard or discourage economic growth and development";

(9) international commodity agreements, including consuming and producing countries, "in exceptional cases of important primary commodities in which burdensome surpluses have developed";

(10) realization of the workers of the Americas of the objectives of the International Labor Office, as set forth in the Philadelphia Conference.

An accompanying resolution on industrial development restates these principles and stresses as the most favorable conditions for the development of industry:

"... The desirability that such industries survive without the necessity of permanent, high customs protection, since that would be prejudicial to the legitimate interests of the consumers. When the establishment of new plants in existing industries is involved, the concession of greater protection for the products of such plants will be avoided. In the establishment of industries the American Republics will undertake to stimulate private enterprise, avoiding in so far as possible the competition of governments with private enterprise except (added by the Latin Americas) where it is essential to the public interest."

Also on the insistence of the Latin Americas, a point was added to the industrial resolution favoring the assurance to national capital of "just and adequate participation" in the establishment and management of new industrial enterprises. Such industrial investments, according to this amended section, "should not, as a general rule, displace the national capital of existing industries, businesses or economic activities."

As can be seen, the main emphasis in

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both the Charter and the resolution is upon private enterprise and the non-intervention of governments in the economy. Of the ten principles in the Charter, six are devoted to guaranteeing the unhampered rights of private enterprise or the removal of various restrictions on trade and investment. In the preamble of the Charter, economic liberty or freedom of action in the economic field is stressed no less than five times. Although toned down here and there by Latin American opposition, the economic documents of Chapultepec embody the four freedoms of expansionism.

The amendments obtained by some Latin American delegations reflect dimly the opposition aroused by this program in Latin American labor and industrial circles. It cannot be otherwise. Despite the readiness of some sectors of national capital to cooperate in the investment program on the terms set by big business, it was widely understood that unhampered and unrestricted expansion of the United States corporations in semi-colonial Latin America could have disastrous effects upon economic development and political independence. Organizations of national industrialists in Mexico and Cuba were sharply critical of the documents, and looked towards subsequently scheduled discussions to alter them.

The opposition of the progressive circles in Latin America was expressed most clearly and forcibly by Vicente Lombardo Toledano, president of the Latin American Confederation of Labor (CTAL). With respect to the Charter and Industrial Resolution as finally amended, he pointed out that they failed to mention any important restrictions upon the investment of foreign capital, "such uncontrolled investments being, as they have been, the main factor in Latin America's uneven and backward economic structure." He stated further that it is the position of the Latin American labor movement that: "The establishment of legal requisites for such investments should be an essential part of the defense of Latin America's political independence and of the struggles to obtain her economic independence. . . . The Economic Charter, moreover, does not refer at all to the problem of setting prices for those products making up the main trade between semi-colonial Latin America and the industrial nations. This question is of tremendous importance. One of the bases for exploitation of Latin America is the fact that the big monopolies buy Latin American raw materials at very low prices and sell the finished goods abroad at a terrific profit.

"The CTAL also protests against the emphasis of the Economic Charter on so-called private enterprise and non-intervention of the state in national or international economy. Approval of this thesis would mean giving the monopolies the very weapon they need to wipe out medium and small industry and commerce in Latin America and at home."

Thus monopoly expansion abroad, whether of the free trade or the cartel variety, inevitably sets into motion a counter-movement of economic and political defense against it. Depending upon the level of the democratic and progressive movement in each country, and the degree to which the Latin American governments actually reflect the needs of national development, they have set up many government-type controls aimed at protecting the national patrimony and developing the national economy. Where these controls and restrictions operate in the direction of assuring greater national independence, they are directed precisely against imperialist penetration within the country and towards restricting the freedom of the foreign monopolies and of capital investment from abroad.

An analysis of investment by United States capitalists in Latin America during the interwar period reveals how these investments have, given economic development a one-sided character and impeded industrialization. In 1929, sixty-two percent of these investments were in the extractive industries (agriculture, mining and petroleum); and twenty-five percent in public utilities and transportation, most often in conjunction with the movement of raw materials. Less than seven percent was in manufacturing. Foreign capital is devoted almost entirely to the development of the raw materials needed by industry in the United States and other industrialized countries, and operates to establish a monopoly in the source of raw material. All efforts to overcome the semi-colonial economic status must therefore include restrictions and controls over the direction of capital investment as well as protective measures for national capital and industry.

The program of the CTAL sets forth a number of controls which should be established over foreign capital investment. Spheres of foreign capital investment should be clearly defined with the purpose of preventing foreign control over the basic branches of the national economy. In every undertaking involving foreign capital, domestic capital should participate in a major capacity, to avoid the shunting of national capital to secondary or non-productive activities. Foreign capital investment should be channelized in accordance with the national needs, and should be required to reinvest its profits within the country to improve and expand industry. The extent to which the natural resources shall be open to foreign exploitation should be controlled with a view to protecting the national reserves and the national interest. Time limits should be placed upon the concessions granted foreign capital. Transportation rates, state taxes and duties should be stipulated in dealings with foreign capital investors, and collective bargaining contracts should be obtained guaranteeing just wages and services to labor.

These are among the most important restrictions of a governmental type which are required if the industrialization and modernization of the Latin American countries, with the aid of foreign capital, is to proceed under conditions of full national sovereignty and lead to the most beneficial development of the economies. The "free trade" proposals of the United States, worked out as a full-fledged program in the Economic Charter of the Americas, threaten the independence not only of the Latin American peoples but of other dependent and semi-dependent countries, wherever the attempt is made to impose them.

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THE PERSISTENCE OF ERROR

THERE can never be any doubt what the essence of Marxism is, for we have Marx's own account of its special nature: ". . . as to myself no credit is due me for discovering the existence of classes in modern society, nor yet the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this class struggle, and bourgeois economists the economic anatomy of the classes. What I did that was new was to prove: (1) that the *existence of classes* is only bound up with *particular, historic phases in the development of production;* (2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the *dictatorship of the proletariat;* (3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the *abolition of all classes* and to a *classless society*." (Letter to Joseph Weydemeyer, March 5, 1852. Marx's emphasis.)

Commenting on this passage, Lenin observes that admitting the existence of a class struggle will not make you a Marxist, nor will even the laudable act of taking labor's side. What makes you a Marxist is your recognition that the class struggle is the vehicle, and the only vehicle, for a transformation of society into socialism. Upon this postulate alone can you discern the broad outlines of your goal and estimate the immediate measures necessary for an advance toward it. A truly Marxist program for any historical period is therefore not merely one which offers humane and enlightened solutions for temporary problems, but one which, if effectuated, will move the whole nation nearer to socialism. Had we no other evidence that this is essential Marxism, we might guess it to be so from the fact that it is, above all others, the doctrine which revisionists first seek to revise.

The nature and effects of revisionism are written large in the history of the Second International. Revisionism always admits the class struggle and always "forgets" to utilize that struggle as the great lever of change. It therefore postpones socialism indefinitely, advocates a gradual and "evolutionary" approach, and tries to conciliate the now contending parties in the interest of some larger unity. It begins to lag behind the masses, and the more it lags, the more it catches up with the bourgeoisie. Historically it is a fact, and (I should venture to say) will always be a fact, that revisionism is a prelude to fascist victory wherever it has great influence.

History repeats itself, but only when men are foolish enough to let it do so. Yet precisely these basic revisionist doctrines underlie Earl Browder's now discarded theory. He, too, "postponed" socialism; he too, espoused gradualism; he, too, tried to conciliate capital and labor "for generations to come." This last he did upon the excuse of national unity in the war, and he thereby removed all the Marxist reasons for fighting the war. For the war was just, precisely because it was the struggle of the world proletariat against the Axis bourgeoisie, and only for this reason could other proletarians unite with "their" capitalists, who, in turn, were forced to unite with the world's first socialist power.

Once you look at things from a revisionist point of view, corruption spreads rapidly and far. For example, the American Communists had to make not one effort, but three, before they could frame a resolution on socialism that bears some resemblance to Marxist theory. The specific proposals of the National Committee resolutions were mostly admirable, but they were not based on a frankly Marxist analysis of the present period, and they showed in no way how the existing balance of class forces was to be changed in the direction of socialism.

Clearly, once you have abandoned Marxism, it is not so easy to return to it. It is but dialectics to observe that, having moved from thesis to antithesis, your further progress will bear the scars of its most recent sojourn. You may confess error, as incidentally I must do. Nevertheless, so long as it remains true that "censure of self is oblique praise," a confession of error will not even vindicate your honesty. Far less will it convince anybody that you are worth listening to. That happy status is something you have got to recover, and this you will never do until you first recognize that you have lost it.

What disturbs me about some American Communists is that they seem as self-assured after confessing error as they were while committing it. They propose to write authoritative articles and give authoritative instruction, just as if it were not public knowledge that for eighteen months they have been fundamentally mistaken. Such an illusion can only end in disaster. At all times you have to *earn* the respect of your neighbors. You must earn it doubly when you have been wrong.

How will you earn it? By demonstrating (1) that you know Marxism, (2) that you can analyze existing situations, (3) that you can lead, or at any rate participate in, American popular movements. The proof will lie in what you say and what you do. It will lie in your sympathy and tolerance for people, in your ceasing to proclaim the purity of your motives, in your willingness to admit that maybe there are some things you don't know. And perhaps we can leave it to other people to say whether Marxists are "uncompromising critics of their own work."

Recent issues of NEW MASSES have carried admirable letters, which show that many readers have all along been considerably in advance of the contributors. The "Readers' Forum" has been, and is now, by far the liveliest section of the magazine. I hope that this "noble contagion" will spread. Fear of discussion, fear of saying something off the line—this is the very prolongation of original sin, the persistence of error into the third and fourth generations. Our readers, I fancy, are less interested in what we think than in whether we think at all. The present crisis has reduced us to that point where we must prove the mere fact of ratiocination.

Nothing can possibly be gained by putting a good face on a bad situation, especially when we can undoubtedly progress once we have discovered where we are. Failure in this will be the ultimate blindness, and we shall pass out of history as men who thought they followed science, but practiced sorcery.

(*A comment on Mr. Bradford's column appears on page* 20.)

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NM SPOTLIGHT

The New and the Old in Britain

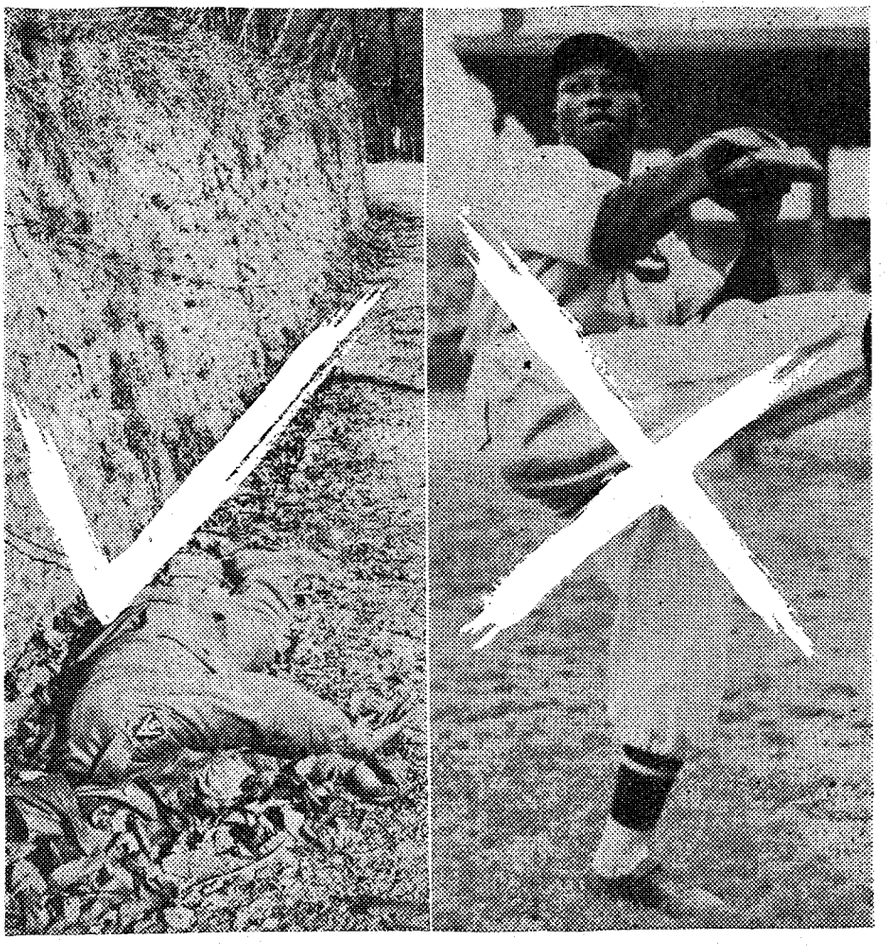
THE opening session of Britain's parliament marked the formal inauguration of the Labor Party government: it tokened the promise—and the limitations—of the people's electoral victory. True to ancient tradition, the King outlined the incoming government's program—this time Labor's—which included partial nationalization and social security measures. Winston Churchill took the occasion to launch a vitriolic attack on the European democratic governments under the notorious smokescreen of fighting Communism.

Churchill struck at the British people's victory with a political declaration of war on the victorious European democracies which inspired Labor's victory and which comprise its most reliable international support. Premier Attlee failed to deliver the forthright reply world democracy expected, and by inference, agreed to Churchill's description of Poland, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia as states administered by "police rule." We can only hope this spirit of appeasement will not mark Premier Attlee's efforts to administer the Labor program as outlined by King George, a program overwhelmingly approved by the British people.

Labor's immediate program of action contained the preliminary steps toward the Labor Party goal of nationalizing British industry. It called for the immediate nationalization of coal, and the Bank of England; state planning and regulation of capital investments and the coordination of gas and electric power: important steps toward modifying British economy on the pattern of state capitalism under democratic controls. It also calls for the repeal of the punitive Trades Dispute Act passed after the 1926 General Strike, forbidding government employes' joining trade unions or endorsing the Labor Party; and a series of measures to widen and improve social insurance, education and more adequate housing. The important Empire measure calls for early realization of full self-government for India. All these provisions reflect the war-awakened political demands of the people. None of them fundamentally threatens the profit system of capitalism. Their significance is that they comprise the first challenge to unrestricted private rule of the nation's economy.

If Mr. Churchill failed to attack these domestic proposals in his opening speech, it is because he pursues a world strategy to retrieve the Tory power and program. He understands that the Labor Party victory is a manifestation of a world shift of relationship of forces between democracy and reaction. His support of fascist collaborators in Greece and the avowed fascists in Spain is well known. That was a major reason for his defeat. His war cry of "Communist dictatorships" is a platform designed to rally his own Tory forces and the reactionary powers on a world scale into a new "Anti-Comintern" axis centered around an Anglo-American atom-bomb alliance. His tribute to the heroic

Good Enough to DIE . . . but not good enough to PITCH



The campaign to make Big League baseball the truly national game it ought to be, where it wouldn't matter what color you were so long as you could play, is becoming a major issue among all lovers of democracy. In New York Mayor La Guardia recently appointed a commission to investigate the charges of discrimination in this national pastime, though his choice of commission members was not too satisfactory. Out front in the fight against Jim Crow baseball is Ben Davis, Communist Councilman from Manhattan's Harlem, himself once a football and tennis star at Amherst. The two pictures above are from a leaflet issued by the Citizens Non-Partisan Committee to reelect Ben Davis, which forms part of a national campaign to make it possible for the fans to cheer such great players as Josh Gibson and Satchel Paige along with the Charlie Kellers and the Hank Greenbergs.

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role of the Red Army is cancelled out by his implication that the Soviet Union be denied the secrets of the atom-bomb.

The Tory forces in this world no longer have the possibility of an alliance with German-Japanese fascism. But as long as there exist exploiting classes, the Churchill program of a political war on democratic peoples will find support. If Churchill was repudiated by his people, his anti-democratic war cry found echoes in Bulgaria, in our State Department and in the Labor Party. Four ministers in Bulgaria seeking to disrupt the people's anti-fascist unity resigned from the Cabinet over the details of election procedure inspired by the Churchill call to action. State Secretary Byrnes promptly came to their rescue by warning the government of Bulgaria to change its election procedure on pain of being denied US recognition. And now Foreign Minister Bevin supports Byrnes in reference to the internal affairs of the people's government of Bulgaria. Bevin adds, for slander, the governments of Rumania and Hungary.

But all this is reckoning without the host—the democratic forces of the world. The masses of Britain did not vote a Labor ticket overwhelmingly to have their leaders appease the Tories. A lot of water, and blood, have flowed over the dam since the days of Ramsay MacDonald. And woe to those who would forget that.

Here and There

WESTBROOK PEGLER says he doesn't fear the epithet "Nazi." In the same column in which he issued that defy he proved again how well he earned the epithet by justifying the Nazis for having "stood against Bolshevism."

• An echo from the new democratic France that spoke in the Petain verdict was heard in the French colony in this country. A former vice-president of the French-American Club, Richard de Rochemont, resigned in protest against a Soviet-baiting speech by its present president, the playwright Henri Bernstein, the alleged former admirer of Mussolini.

• The reactionaries the world over continue to use the Soviet bogey: Churchill and Hoover and the New York *Times*. That newspaper, in the climax of a vicious series of articles on Soviet occupation forces in Eastern

(*Continued on page* 31)

French Physics and the Atom

Paris (by cable).

FREDERIC JOLIOT-CURIE, professor of the *College de France*, Member of the Institute, Nobel prize winner in physics, director of the French National Scientific Research Center, is the man who, with his co-workers, discovered the first principles which made possible the atomic bomb. In the research of the last twenty years exploring the nucleus of the atom, French physics played an important part in the discovery of the neutron and the positron. And it was French scientists who accomplished the initial work in artificial radioactivity. The name of Irene Curie, daughter of Pierre and Marie Curie, wife and co-worker of Frederic Joliot, is among those who come to mind in connection with the work on the radioactivity produced in uranium by the impact of neutron projectiles. And to Joliot-Curie, as well as two Danish scientists, credit goes for having established a proof of the fragmentation of the nucleus of the uranium atom when in collision with the neutron. They established the phenomenon that frees considerable energy on the atomic level.

But the most important discovery was that which Joliot-Curie reported in January 1939, to the Paris Academy of Science: that the fragmentation of the uranium atom would be accompanied by the emission of neutrons, themselves capable in their turn of splitting other nuclei, the splitting of which also would emit other neutron projectiles, and so on. This was to establish the possibility of using nuclear reaction for practical purposes.

However, the practical utilization of atomic energy was not yet possible. It was necessary further to be able to control this prodigious energy, to be capable of stopping the development of nuclear reactions. A crew of French scientists, Joliot-Curie, Francis Perrin, Halban and Kowarski discovered the means of doing this, thus permitting the utilization of the earlier discoveries. The basis was being laid for the first technical apparatus for splitting the atom in France when the capitulation and the German invasion stopped work. Joliot-Curie, Halban and Kowarski by special arrangement left for England. Joliot-Curie there deposited the documents and the stock of heavy water that courageous French officers had got from Norway, then a neutral country. Great scientist that he was, Joliot-Curie remained in France to play an important role in the Resistance.

His co-workers carried on in Great Britain, where English scientists collaborated with them; then they went to Canada, where they are at present with other French physicists.

FREDERIC JOLIOT-CURIE is at present in England taking a few days' rest. But *Humanite*, the organ of the Communist Party of France, of which Joliot-Curie is a member, has published an article in which he describes his reaction to the news of the atomic bomb. "Two atomic bombs," writes Joliot-Curie, "have been released over Japanese territory, producing considerable destruction; it is understood that the Americans have several others in reserve. It is also correct that the immense reserve of energy contained in the activated uranium can be freed slowly enough to be utilized in a practical fashion for man's benefit. I personally am convinced that despite the feelings aroused by the application of atomic energy for destructive purposes, in peacetime it can render inestimable services to mankind.

"Dynamite permitted the undertaking of considerable constructive work: dams, quarries, works of art, and so forth; it permitted the construction of more beneficial things in the world than it destroyed during war. The balance will be still more favorable for the utilization of atomic energy, especially if, as we must hope, men become more reasonable. One would fear the monopoly of such sources of energy and their military application by one or two great nations. Such a fear would be justified if they were not civilized nations which possessed it. In that case it would be madness, for, despite the instantaneous power which would be at the disposal of these nations, we should all quickly find ourselves in a world rearmed, in a more terrible and perhaps more insidious fashion."

We take pride, then, in France's contribution to the atomic bomb. And we agree with Joliot-Curie that it opens up a new era in the conquest of nature by mankind.

YVES MOREAU.

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REPORT TO OUR READERS

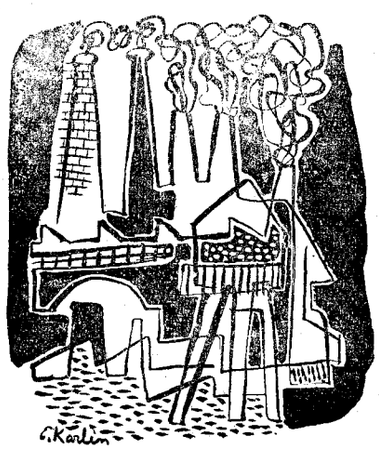
By THE EDITORS

THIS is an interim report. For the past few weeks NEW MASSES has been publishing letters from readers about the magazine, many of them sharply critical of our work in the recent period when we embraced Earl Browder's ideas concerning a postwar capitalist utopia. Readers may have been wondering whether the editors were seriously facing up to the problem of correcting mistakes and revitalizing the magazine. Let us assure you that the process of self-criticism is painful and difficult, but we are making every effort to examine our work seriously and searchingly. Nor is the mere recognition of errors sufficient. There still remains the struggle against the vestiges of wrong thinking and wrong habits of work. And there is always the danger of losing one's balance, of forgetting that even in the period when NM was weakest, it nevertheless made valuable contributions in many fields. In the future too we must avoid tossing out the baby with the bath-water.

Besides, we cannot limit ourselves to eradicating what is bad: there is still the problem of making correct policy breathe in the pages of NM as the flesh and blood of American life. There is still the problem of permeating the very roots of our thinking with Marxist science, of giving every article and cartoon fire and strength and excitement.

Frankly, we don't know all the answers, but we're trying hard to find them. And we must have the help of our readers if we are to succeed. The editors are now holding a series of meetings which are also being attended by a number of contributors. After Labor Day we expect to hold such meetings with our readers, though because of physical factors we must continue to depend on mail as the major means of involving our readers in these discussions. Three of the ideas that were emphasized at the last meeting of our editorial board were the need to develop genuine Marxist independence of thought; the magazine's role as a cementer of the alliance between labor and the middle class and consequently the importance of closer ties with both the labor movement and middle class organizations; and NM's task as an educator in socialism. Some of the questions to be taken up at forthcoming meetings are the role of Marxist theory in the magazine's work, NM's activity in the field of culture, the development of self-criticism as a continuous process, the strengthening of ties with our readers, and the problem of manpower, that is, of writers and artists to contribute to NEW MASSES. (The latter problem has for several years been perhaps the toughest we have faced; we appeal once again for cooperation from writers, artists and readers.) And all the time, of course, history is on the march. Reconversion, spreading unemployment, the tensions in Europe and Asia—these and a hundred other questions must be dealt with at once.

OUR patterns of thought and action must conform to reality not only in the sense of eliminating the wrong conceptions of the past, but also of avoiding new distortions that may prove just as damaging. We share with our readers the belief that Joel Bradford is one of our most valuable contributors, but it seems to us that some of the ideas in his column elsewhere in this issue err in the direction of ultra-leftism. His statement that the war has been just "because it was the struggle of the world proletariat against the Axis bourgeoisie, and only for this reason could other proletarians unite with 'their' capitalists, who, in turn, were forced to unite with the world's first socialist power," is too narrow a characterization. This was primarily what Marxists call a national war (even though it also contained elements of class war as well as of imperialist war) because it embraced the interests not of the workers alone, but of all classes, including the bourgeoisie.



Eugene Karlin.

If in the war of 1914-18 Lenin was able to speak of its progressive national element as represented by the struggle of Belgium and Serbia—an element which would have justified support of that struggle had it not been engulfed in the larger conflict of imperialist powers—how can one overlook the predominantly national character of the gigantic war against the Axis, in which the very existence and democratic achievements of large nation-states were at stake?

Mr. Bradford's comments on the American Communists also appear to us one-sided. He sees evidence of incapacity in the fact that the Communists had to make three efforts before they could produce a proper resolution; others might see in that fact a genuine effort to rid the movement of the remnants of non-Marxian thinking and a genuine respect for the opinions of the rank and file, who submitted some 5,000 amendments to the original draft resolution. And Mr. Bradford seems to demand a kind of humility of every Communist who was mistaken in the recent period —which would mean close to 100 percent of them—that would result in paralysis of action. Surely he would not want that.

We think it good, however, to be able to thresh out such differences and eventually arrive at common agreement. In this connection the letters we have been getting from readers—unfortunately, we don't have space to print all of them—have proved very helpful. Some of the criticism has hurt even though we have had to recognize its essential truth. Some of it has seemed to us extreme and not very constructive. What we need now are more letters that will help in our own "reconversion" job: that will tell us what readers like and don't like among the features of NM and what improvements they suggest. And we want, too, letters that will tell what is happening in various parts of the country and will reflect the experiences and thinking of average Americans. Not a few of the letters we have received have impressed us with their authors' writing skill: we want more of such non-professional writers to feel that this is a magazine where their efforts will be welcomed, that they too can help give NEW MASSES that depth and richness we are striving for.

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READERS' FORUM

The Thirst to Know

TO NEW MASSES: What is the most impressive aspect in the intellectual life of our progressive movement? It is the aliveness, the eagerness to learn, the desire for knowledge on the part of our people, not merely on one specific subject, but, generally, in all sorts of cultural fields.

You will find the Negro immersed in the history of anti-Semitism; the worker engrossed in the influence of Picasso on modern artists; the overworked physician fascinated by the story of Poland's history. Of course there is a relationship—Negro, anti-Semitism—worker, Picasso—physician, Poland—and we wouldn't dare deny or discourage it. On the contrary, our publications should expand, even further their scope of subject matter for the enjoyment and benefit of all types of workers and professionals.

The outstanding intellectual characteristic of the leaders in the Communist and progressive movement is this: they are acquainted with almost any subject you may care to mention. This is true both here and abroad. The party organizer in India, the Yugoslav partisan officer, the doctor from Milan, our Bill Foster, each of them, any one, could with comparative ease discuss the history of the labor movement; anthropology—the wonderful adjunct of Marxism, with its splendid examples of varying civilizations; the lessons of great literature or philosophical dissertations.

This is no accident. For to grasp the significance of trends, to mold opinion, to command respect for leadership, to direct the struggle for the "right," calls forth a new type of man and woman: the worker-intellectual . . . "Worker," because he earns his living by his hands and brains, not from the sweat of others working for him, hence, having no interests apart from other exploited. "Intellectual" because he is interested in knowledge, not to earn more money, or acquire fame, but for the satisfaction it gives him, for the liquid nourishment it offers to his thirst for truth and cultural inquiries.

The opportunity is present for all progressive publications to attract people of this calibre to our movement. Often too tired from overwork, Mr. Average Worker can't very well read avidly hundreds of magazines, or attend classes at the University, or peruse vigorously courses given by well-meaning progressive pedantics requiring basic knowledge of Latin, physics, mathematics, dialectics and geology. He must instead rely on one or two magazines, because he hasn't the time, the formal educational requirements, the patience, nor the financial resources necessary to do any of the other things.

Yet, we can boast, without any contradictions from even *enemy* sources, of the remarkable level of our workers, our professionals, of all those who adhere to our progressive movement. It can be said that outside of the specialized press (Greek, Jewish, Negro, Russian, Italian), and professional journals (art, anthropology, music, theater, geology, history), nowhere else in any general magazine, can information be gleaned on subjects touching the histories, arts, sciences, literature, the *politik* of cultural and present day social trends.

Our press must cater to the inquiring mind, the searcher for what truly is occurring, the restless spirit, the indomitable courage to rise from the restrictions of the ghetto, Jim Crow, the slum or restraining atmosphere of Babbitism, spread by the insipid hirelings of the owners of our national productive wealth. To them, the spouting of political slogans is insufficient; for them, the history of the Negro and the splendid African heritage they possess . . . the significance of the cubists, the surrealists, the Lybdenko botanists, the documentary film, *is* important for its interest, the satisfaction acquired from pure knowledge itself, the astringent qualitative effects on the tired mind harassed by mundane economic problems of a personal nature.

So, we find articles of varied sorts in our press. Our plea is for more and more of such features.

NEW MASSES and other publications in the postwar period, without the worry of paper quotas, with the aid of its loyal readers, must increase the number of its pages and of readers for them. It can do this by offering to the new reader something he can never find elsewhere: an answer—or at least the compass to find for himself the magnetic truth. For example, articles on marriage and divorce in this and socialist society would be interesting. The absorbing science of etymology, the origin of words, could be discussed with sidelight reflections on the interpretation of words, such as those in the Yalta agreement, which some well-meaning people claim is the only bar to the betterment of Soviet-American relations. The mere description of corresponding fields of endeavor in the USA, the USSR and India would show the contrasting influences the economic mode of life arising from the ownerships of productive means reflects on them.

What possibilities! Here within these pages, the honest artist and professional can express himself. Here, the worker can find his cultural bracer. Here, in all its simple majesty, the movement of the musicales, the low-price art fairs, the debate, the pamphlet, the yearning far beyond the pay check, here, embodying the finest and cleanest, here, the pulse of man's quest for knowledge, beats.

What have we to lose in expressing our opinions on all subjects in all fields? Nothing . . . but we could gain the worker, the professional, the discriminated, the Jim Crowed, all who are seeking the way out of the maze of capitalist buncombe.

We might conclude, with a familiar paraphrase: let our writings be in the American parlance (form) . . . with the "guts" of socialism (content).

HARRY STERNBERG.

Brooklyn.

For Action

TO NEW MASSES: We have subscribed to and enjoyed reading NM for years.

The thought just occurred to me while going through the current issue that perhaps it would be a good idea to print a small paragraph somewhere entitled "What the Reader Should Do" and devote it to legislation, etc., where a letter of protest or praise could do some good. In this way the reader will have the satisfaction of giving vent to the emotions which your magazine invokes and who knows—perhaps some good will come of these letters. Of course there is nothing to stop readers from doing this now, but even NM readers may be too lazy to pick out the articles that should be followed up with a protest or encouragement. This may mean a little extra work for someone on the staff but I feel it will pay its dividends.

GOLDIE L. HELLMAN.

Philadelphia.

Cezanne, Picasso et al.

TO NEW MASSES: It was good to see Charles Arnault start the ball rolling in the direction of more profound art criticism.

However, there are a couple of points that should be clarified. I do not feel he does justice to his own thesis when he says Cezanne would probably reject the extreme modern distortions of today. This is certainly not giving art forms room to function dialectically. Cezanne, were he alive, would utilize every means of form to express the spirit of our world today. His age could use more moderate distortions than the world of today, or to put it more positively, our age demands a more dynamic expression. It is probably, however, that Cezanne, with his classical outlook, might overlook social content. Picasso, an heir of Cezanne, has to some extent—with "Guernica"—brought the dynamic, abstract expression of our age into the social field. It is up to our generation of artists to carry on in this fusion of form and content.

As to an artist like Mondrian: he certainly has his place, but he is too cold and intellectual. His perfectionism leads to sterility.

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An art to be vital must be related to life. It must be more than an intellectual idea.

The whole thing resolves itself in artists attempting to be "realists" of their age. That means they must find the form to express the character of their time. The artists cannot reject the contribution of a whole modern art movement. They must be aware that they have the added vision through modern science of knowing more of the world than their predecessors. They cannot stand before apples or people and copy them literally and think they are realists. Today we can see Europe and Asia as well as America. Our expression must prove it. HERB KRUCKMAN.
New York.

No Abstractions, Please

TO NEW MASSES: I am in complete agreement with an "aggrieved visitor" who complained about your policy of illustrating the magazine. Taking the paper shortage and your limited means into consideration I do not look with favor upon such extravagant display of artistic fireworks. But if art is essential to your well being, *please*, give us at least something less emetic than some of your woodcuts or abstract collages, as neither of them seem suitable to a magazine which, to judge by its political color, should be inspired by that socialist realism which is the guide of the artists in the Soviet Union. Please forgive my blunt talk.

JAMES F. CONTESSA.
Mount Temple, N. Y.

Germany Is Their Home

TO NEW MASSES: We, the undersigned German political refugees—functionaries of the labor movement and trade unionists of long standing, municipal officials, teachers, artists, writers and journalists, who have fought National Socialism and every other form of German imperialism, in the underground movement, in exile, and in the International Brigades of Spain, and who have suffered in the concentration camps of Hitler and his satellites—herewith express our desire to return to Germany immediately.

Hitler's rule has been destroyed through the victory of the United Nations. This is the end of an emergency situation which made it necessary for thousands of German anti-fascists to seek refuge in exile.

As political refugees, we regard it as our solemn duty to return to our homeland now to join the ranks of German anti-fascists in extirpating National Socialism and militarism, and to participate in the building of a freedom-loving and democratic Germany and in the reestablishment of the labor movement.

Like tens of thousands of other victims of Hitler fascism we have found asylum in the United States, which rescued us from gravest peril. For this hospitality we express our sincere gratitude to the American people and their government.

With the military defeat German imperialism is not yet completely wiped out. Just as is 1918, its standard bearers and their accomplices will try to exert their influence directly or indirectly on the masses of the German people. As against the failure of the Weimar Republic, this time Germany must be prevented from reestablishing itself as a source of imperialist aggression.

Today our nation is confronted with great and difficult tasks. It is imperative to free Germany from race hatred and contempt for other peoples as well as from all influence of National Socialism, from the rule of big monopolies, trusts, cartels, and from the grip of the Junkers and the military caste.

The undersigned recognize the moral responsibility of their people for not having prevented the criminal regime of National Socialism from coming to power, for not having overthrown it by themselves, and for not even alleviating the sufferings of other nations by shortening the war which the National Socialist regime provoked.

The undersigned see as the honorable duty of the German people the reparation to the greatest possible extent of the damages done by Hitler Germany to other peoples.

The undersigned realize that Germany can only reclaim the right to be an independent country and a member of the family of nations, if we Germans accept the security measures taken by other nations against the renascence of German imperialism, and if we Germans prove able to break unconditionally with the sins of the past and create a peaceful and stable democracy.

(Please address inquiries to: ERNST KRUGER, 305 Broadway, New York 7, N. Y., Room 207.)
Signed by ERNST KRUGER, GERHARD EISLER, HANS MARCHWITZA, PHILIP DAUB, ELSE STEINFURTH, LISA KIRBACH, MAX SCHROEDER, ALFRED ZAHN, KARL OBERMANN, GUSTAV A. DETER, MARIA DETER, ALBERT H. SCHREINER, LORE HEINEMANN KRUGER, ALBERT NORDEN, HERTA NORDEN.

More on Repertory

TO NEW MASSES: I read Sala Staw's letter in the NEW MASSES on state repertory theaters and I want to say that I'm in favor. But a thing like that needs careful planning. The government, once a bill is passed, should create a Department of Arts and Sciences with undersecretaries for each branch, like the State Department.

Dan Rico

The Undersecretary for the Theater, to my mind, should be the only person who has actually made a repertory theater work in our country in recent times: Eva Le Gallienne. She's the one person in the United States today who is by actual experience and accomplishment capable of supervising the planning and setting up of these state repertory theaters. All the others have talked about it through their press agents; they even got together and talked about it through their press agents, *viz.*: during the time when the City Center was first formed the whole governing board vowed to high heaven that they were going to put across a repertory theater. Some even started working on it, but all ran off with cold feet. Eva Le Gallienne alone built a great repertory company out of practically nothing. (This reader saw most of the plays in the old 14th Street Theater.) She built a great theater out of practically nothing—*she knows how*. And so I'd say if Miss Le Gallienne is as bored with waiting around for a proper starring vehicle, plus backing, as she was at the time when she started the Civic Repertory Theater down on 14th Street, and if her will to serve is still as great as it was during the years at the Civic Repertory Theater, I'd say that she's the one to do the supervising and planning on a national Repertory theater, as Sala Staw says: "One in each state of the Union."
New York. RICHARD WALTERS.

Our Australian Friends

TO NEW MASSES: Herewith a money order for my subscription renewal and a small contribution to your annual fund drive. Till about three months ago I was receiving NEW MASSES in New Guinea. It has been my indispensable weekly during the whole twenty months that I have been in the South Pacific. I could no more think of going without it than my daily tablet of atabrine.

I noticed a letter from Fred Patterson, MLA, in your magazine about two months ago. It was my privilege to be stationed in Fred's stamping grounds while my outfit was in Australia. Fred, you know, is a Rhodes Scholar, one of Australia's outstanding attorneys and athletes, as well as the first Communist ever to be elected to Parliament in that country. Fred is always raving about your magazine, getting everyone to subscribe — Aussie as well as Yank—and quoting from it in Parliament. PVT. A. S.
Somewhere in the South Pacific.

Correction

TO NEW MASSES: Virginia Gardner, in "The Seamen Won't Be Sunk" (August 7) was wrong in saying that a mess boy or wiper gets 82.5¢ to 87.5¢ an hour. It is $82.50 to $87.50 a month—quite a difference!
New York. MERCHANT SEAMAN.

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RUSSIAN AND WORLD LITERATURE

By TAMARA MOTYLEVA

In 1885 when Engels expounded his theory as to how ideas should be expressed in literature, he illustrated his principles by citing the works of Dante, Aeschylus, Cervantes, and the "superb novels" of the Russian writers of his day. Engels' reference to Russian writers stemmed from the "triumphant procession" which the novels of Turgenev, Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky made through Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century. The interest of foreign readers in Russian literature was not merely a passing fad. European interest in Russian literature and the influence of works by Russian writers on the literary life of the West was a profoundly significant process that steadily grew in importance throughout the course of practically a whole century.

In 1902 Lenin urged the people to consider "the universal significance which Russian literature is now acquiring."

A few years later he paid tribute to the world significance of Tolstoy whose contribution had brought about "a stride forward in the artistic development of mankind."

Maxim Gorky also wrote of the importance of Russian literature for the whole civilized world. He said: "In the history of European letters, our youthful literature is a truly amazing phenomenon. I shall not be exaggerating when I say that no other literature in the West came into being with such force and rapidity, in such a mighty, dazzling burst of talent as did ours. No nation in Europe has created such significant, such universally recognized books, none have produced works of such superb beauty under such indescribably difficult conditions."

The evaluation of Russian literature by Western critics and writers gives a far from complete picture of its actual significance. Lack of worthy translations makes the knowledge of Russian literature (and especially of Russian poetry) in the West far from adequate for a proper understanding. The works of foreign scholars on Russian literature demand a highly critical approach; they often contain factual errors, are given to false exotics and sometimes express reactionary tendencies.

Notwithstanding these shortcomings, the opinions of foreign critics are of interest. "Modern times," wrote the German critic J. von Guenther in 1923, "recognizes that Alexander Pushkin belongs among those immortals beginning with Homer, who in Europe include only Dante, Shakespeare, Calderon and Goethe. To these immortal five, a sixth is now added—Pushkin." It cannot be regarded as a mere coincidence that foreign men of letters constantly juxtapose Russian classics with the greatest works of art, most frequently with works created during the most flourishing epochs of world history—antiquity and the Renaissance. Hippolyte Taine compared Turgenev to the artists of ancient Greece. Romain Rolland compared Gorky to Dante. It became the accepted thing in Western criticism to liken Tolstoy to Homer and Dostoyevsky to Shakespeare. All this points to the fact that Russian literature is appreciated abroad as occupying an extremely important position in world literature. (In this connection we may recall that Engels places the great Russian novelists on a par with Aeschylus, Aristophanes, Cervantes and Dante.)

What is the distinguishing feature of Russian literature? European critics offer various answers to this question.

The Soviet reader is acquainted with Rosa Luxemburg's work *The Soul of Russian Literature*, in which she repeatedly emphasizes the fact that Russian literature is "not only the pupil but the teacher of the West." She writes: "The distinguishing characteristic of this sudden flowering of Russian literature is the fact that it arose out of opposition to the prevailing regime, out of the spirit of struggle. This explains the wealth and depth of its intellectual content, the perfection and originality of its artistic form. Above everything else, it explains its power to stimulate and inspire."

In contrast to Rosa Luxemburg very few foreign readers were able to grasp the progressive, liberative essence of Russian literature. Even those foreign critics who acknowledged the profound democracy of Russian writers and the national character of their works usually contented themselves with doing so in very general forms. The French literary critic Jules Legras, for instance, stated: "It is precisely because of its constant contact with the man of the soil that nineteenth century Russian literature achieves such powerful originality."

Not infrequently European critics are inclined to interpret Russian writers as "saints" and "prophets." The term "social pity" is often met in French studies of Russian literature. Jean Chouseville, compiler of a volume of Russian poetry, claimed that the mission of Russian literature was to "deepen the conscience of our humanity." This same statement, typical of foreign critics writing about Russian literature, was applied by Stefan Zweig to Leo Tolstoy, whom he asserted had done just this—"deepened the conscience of humanity."

By limiting themselves to a contemplation of the abstract ethical aspect of Russian literature, Western critics find themselves unable to explain the sources of its intellectual and moral strength and its artistic greatness. Instead of explanations, they usually refer to the sterling qualities of the "Russian soul" and even to the patriarchal backwardness that characterized pre-revolutionary Russian life.

The true source of the greatness of Russian literature, however, was not in the backwardness of old Russia but in the efforts to overcome this backwardness. The specific characteristics of Russian literature and the basis of its world significance cannot be understood outside of its connection with the age-old history of protest and struggle against survivals of serfdom in Russian life. It was precisely this struggle that gave birth to and nourished the tradition which Lenin regarded as one of the salient features of Russian enlightenment—the tradition of championing the interests of the masses.

No other country in any epoch of world history has ever experienced such swiftness, such intensity of social devel-

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opment as modern Russia. This lay at the basis of the rapid development of modern Russian literature. In an incredibly short time it was able to assimilate the best that European art and philosophy had produced, apply it to Russian life, and create a national culture of world significance. Pushkin's works represent a synthesis of Renaissance motifs and the literary heritage of both the enlightenment and progressive romanticism. At the same time they embody the basic principles of realism. In the opinion of foreign scholars, this forms the salient feature of Russian literature. It was this realism that lent Russian literature its originality.

The basic tendencies of nineteenth-century Russian literature are closely bound up with progressive trends in European thought and art. Themes and problems similar to those advanced by leading figures in European literature often presented themselves to Russian authors. Russian realism, however, steeped as it was in a liberative, democratic spirit, presented its own original solutions to these problems.

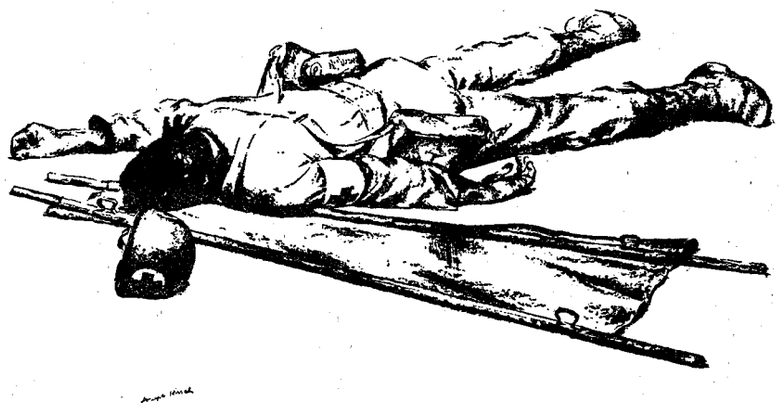
Gorky repeatedly pointed out, and rightly so, that the "story of the young man of the nineteenth century"—the theme of the individual's aspiration toward happiness—dominated nineteenth century European literature. In summarizing European classical realism, Hegel outlined a novel in which the hero with his own opinions and aspirations became enmeshed in existing relations and modes of thinking. In the final analysis he became the same sort of Philistine as those around him. Classical bourgeois esthetics maintained with sober realism that the normal course for the individual (in bourgeois society) is the pursuit of his own well-being.

IN MUCH more emphatic terms than European literature, Russian literature as early as even at the first half of the nineteenth century expressed its disapproval of a proprietary egoism making individual success the aim of human existence. In serf-holding Czarist Russia, careerism was tantamount to support of a system which had been obsolete for centuries and was utterly meaningless historically. Under such conditions, to belong to the upper social strata implied leading the life of a parasite. The great writers of Czarist Russia, where the exploitation of man by man was practiced so openly and obviously, denounced egoism in all its forms. It is highly characteristic that Pushkin condemned the French novelists for tolerating moral degradation, for depicting vice as always and everywhere triumphant, and for perceiving nothing but egoism and vanity in the human heart.

The moral stringency of Russian writers possessed an objective historical foundation. The conditions of Russian life led writers to demand higher ethical standards than those presented by European literature. Thus, in regarding the course chosen by the young man of the nineteenth century, Russian writers posed the question of how he performed his duty as a member of society rather than that of how he prospered as an individual.

In this connection Stefan Zweig draws an interesting comparison between Russian and European literature: "The crowning desire of all Dickens' characters is a cosy cottage with a lovely garden and a flock of romping children. For the people in Balzac's novels it is a castle, a noble title, and millions. . . . Who in Dostoyevsky's novels has any need for all this? Not a single one. None of them have any desire for comfort, or opulence—not even for happiness. All are eager to press beyond. All are blessed with a 'loftier heart,' a heart torn with misgivings."

Zweig regards the specific traits of Dostoyevsky's characters as national characteristics distinguishing them from Europeans. Carrying his comparison further, he recalls the German "instructive novel," whose hero as a rule proceeds from romantic quests to a reconciliation with practical life. He comes to the conclusion that in the final run the German genius always strives toward law and order. "The heroes of French novels," says Zweig, "conquer life or else themselves fall under its wheels." It is quite a different matter with Dostoyevsky's characters. "All illusory values—titles, power, money, all tangible property, have no significance for them—either as ends—as in Balzac—or as means—as in the German novelists. . . . These people of Dostoyevsky may be comprehended only if one remembers that they are Russians. . . . The inestimable value of the Russian for Europe lies in the fact that he presents all the problems of life at once, with insatiable curiosity."



"Non-Combatant," pencil drawing by Joseph Hirsch.

Indifference to wealth and position, interest in the fundamental problems of life, a striving to justify one's existence, a keen sense of one's duty to his fellows are traits typical of characters created by the most varied of Russian writers, from Radishchev to Gorky.

The moral condemnation of exploitation and oppression found in all Russian classical literature impelled foreign critics to speak of Russian realism as one of the most superb and humanitarian tendencies of world literature. It is not rooted in any abstract, "innate" spiritual-mindedness of the Russian. It is to be explained by the specific nature of Russian national, historical and social conditions. With the reality of serfdom constantly before their eyes, it was easier for Russian than for European writers to become convinced of the fundamental injustice of all exploitation.

The theme of the exploited individual appeared in European literature much earlier than it did in Russian. Russian writers, however, due to the peculiar features of life around them, gave sharper and more concrete treatment to this theme. This may readily be shown by comparing Turgenev's *A Sportsman's Sketches* with similar works by his European contemporaries. Turgenev's peasants are less exalted, less ideal than heroes of George Sand's stories of village folk. And this is what makes them

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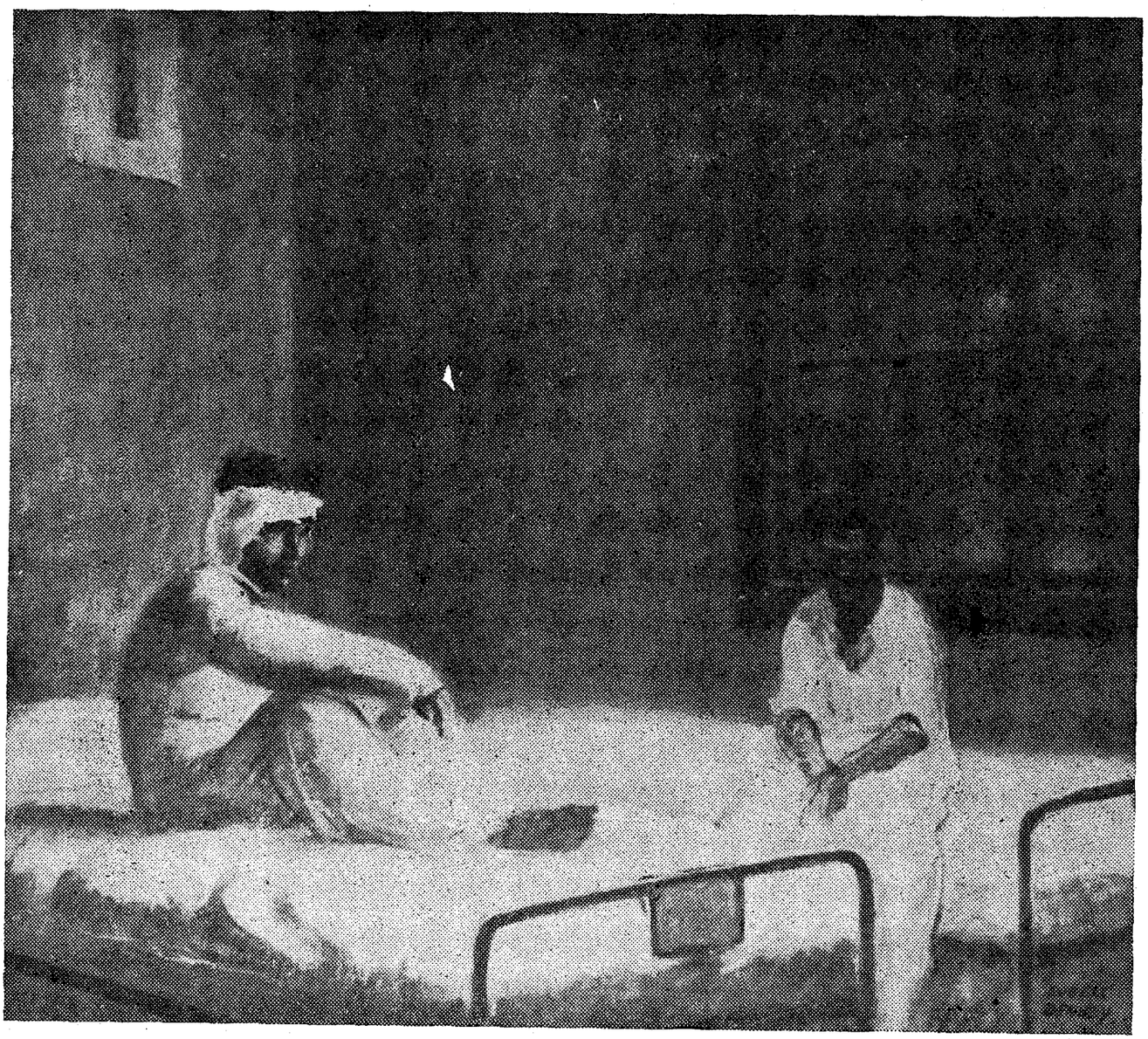
Drawings and a painting from the exhibition of Army Medical Painting recently at Rockefeller Center. Sponsored by Abbott Laboratories, five artists—Joseph Hirsch, Robert Benney, Howard Baer, Franklin Boggs and Lawrence Beall Smith—were sent to overseas combat zones as accredited war correspondents, while seven others recorded the scene at home. The exhibition opens in St. Louis on September 9, and from there will go to Seattle, Portland and San Francisco.

Sketches of "Vinegar Joe" Stilwell, by Howard Baer.



"Pacific Base Hospital," oil by Robert Benney.

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so much more true to life and convincing. Kalinich, Biryuk, Lukerya, the boys in *Bezhin Meadow*—all bear the strong imprint of Russian serfdom which has made them servile, ignorant and superstitious. But they possess other traits—great moral purity and fortitude, an instinct for justice. Balzac failed to find these qualities in French peasants, eaten up by the gangrene of private ownership. Turgenev perceived spiritual beauty in actual flesh and blood Russian peasants. This enabled him to create works filled with an inner poetry.

The growing movement for national liberation gave the Russian working people the opportunity to taste an inner freedom which found diverse means of expression. The sense of dormant strength of which they were often only partly conscious is found in many characters of Russian literature—in Dostoyevsky's muzhik Maree, in Nekrasov's peasants and in Gorky's tramps. Gorky's introduction of the revolutionary proletariat into literature represented a startling innovation, yet it was in no small measure prepared by the whole preceding development of Russian literature with its great democratic tradition.

IT WAS the close contact of Russian writers with the people that afforded them such tremendous creative opportunities—opportunities often beyond the reach of their fellow writers abroad. This is touched upon in a discussion of the dissimilarity between Chekhov and Maupassant by the English critic Edward Garnett. In the latter's opinion the writings of both these uncompromising realists are filled with an impassioned search for truth and a poetic sense of beauty. While Maupassant' environment, however clear and sharply defined, is apt to be cold and austere, Chekhov's background was softer, warmer and more yielding. Garnett realizes that the problem here is not a matter of the difference between two creative personalities but of the difference between two national types of realism. The difference in temperament between the native of Normandy and the native of Russia reflects the difference in their traditions and in the spiritual evaluations inherent in their national civilizations. In Garnett's opinion one of the most vital characteristics of Chekhov's art (and of that of his forerunners in Russian literature) is the fact that one always feels the vastness of humanity, especially of that ocean of the peasant masses, as a background to their works. This consciousness of hidden depths lifts Chekhov's works above the limited social plane of European literature.

In the decade following 1848, when the contradictions of capitalist society became more and more acute, many European writers grew increasingly conscious of their social isolation and fell into moods of nihilism, frustration and misanthropy. This tendency left its imprint on certain works of such outstanding artists as Flaubert and Maupassant, and became the predominating characteristic of many writers of less note. All this led to a decline in the moral and intellectual value of French literature which had been preeminent in Europe till 1848. English literature of this period (and especially, German literature) was marked by a trend toward liberalism and sentimental didactics which tried to set itself above the dialectics of life. Quite significant in this respect is the assertion made by Georg Brandes that Turgenev's rich experience of life made him neither a cynic like many French writers nor a moralist like many English writers.

One of the most outstanding works produced by the democratic-humanistic trend in nineteenth century European literature was Victor Hugo's *Les Miserables*. Critics have frequently compared this novel with the works of Russian authors. Andre Breton, for instance, draws a comparison between Hugo and Tolstoy. While pointing out a number of similar traits and even identical motives in *Les Miserables* and *Resurrection* the critic also indicates a number of important differences. Tolstoy's novel reproduces the actual course of life with utmost simplicity and truthfulness while Hugo's book abounds in the most fabulous improbabilities—a sudden rise to fame, flight, rescue, fateful and heart-stirring encounters.

But there is an essential difference between these two novelists, not only in the artistic method they employ. Breton goes on to say that it was Hugo's dream to raise the poor to the level of the rich and educated, and to make the proletarian a citizen and a bourgeois. Tolstoy, on the contrary, advises the rich to renounce their property and the educated to close their books to come nearer to the peasant and live his life.

As Breton puts it, Hugo's ideal and that of Tolstoy seem equally utopian. The ideal championed by Hugo, however, does not emerge beyond the limits of social relations observed by the author and he cannot overcome an innate hostility toward Tolstoy's utopia. The author of *Les Miserables* casts a romantic halo over the Paris barricades but his moral doctrine sounds the appeal for compromise. The author of *Resurrection* rejects violence but his moral doctrine is directed against the bases of proprietary egoism.

(*To be concluded next week.*)

Dallin's War on Russia

THE BIG THREE, *United States, Britain, Russia, by David J. Dallin. Yale University Press. $2.75.*

I GATHER from this book that the exposures of Mr. Dallin in progressive magazines have had some effect on that professional poisoner of US-Soviet relations. In *The Big Three* his tone is cautious and there is a straining toward an appearance of objectivity. The crimes are committed—but only in inference. Readers are led on to the point where most of them will find themselves saying in their minds what Dallin himself carefully refrains from saying on the page.

What Mr. Dallin seeks to trick them into saying is that America must inevitably make war on the Soviet Union. His devices take the following course. Sea "power," with its modern aviation adjuncts, is the basis of world power. America, by virtue of its overwhelming industrial superiority, has now achieved naval supremacy. Britain has submitted to the new status, tacitly abdicating as mistress of the seas. The Soviet Union alone projects a challenge—and thus Mr. Dallin has led his readers into the first trap of his slippery logic, posing the Soviet naval program as the provocation of a new world war.

The argument goes on: America, by itself, is already the dominant world power. The privileges of such power are historically determined and cannot be gainsaid. They are not being gainsaid in any field, by Britain; they are, in many fields, by the Soviet Union, which challenges American domination. By such rivalry it becomes the next focus of wars. It should not surprise anybody, after this, if Mr. Dallin is added to the staff of Trotskyite and Social Democratic "experts" who have been refining the "American Century" ideology for *Time-Life-Fortune*.

America, however, need not go it alone, says Dallin. Britain is modestly content to toddle along as junior part-

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ner in an "Anglo-Saxon superstate." America and England are already in harmonious partnership in the exploitation of Near-Eastern oil, but that harmony is overcast by the looming cloud of an intruding Soviet interest. Again the reader is seduced into thoughts that Mr. Dallin neatly avoids in words.

Along with that vague Soviet threat against the *Pax Britannica-Americana* Mr. Dallin raises another, still more subtle. In the last generations, he writes, aggression has come from the totalitarian states, whereas the democracies have endured much for the sake of peace. The chief surviving totalitarian state for Mr. Dallin is, of course, the Soviet Union. Not a hint that many Western, non-Communist observers have not only conceded the actuality, but even, at some points, the superiority of Soviet democracy. And no word, of course, of the long and lonely Soviet struggle for collective security, frequently against the opposition of the Western democracies. Mr. Dallin merely sets the equation, and gives it to his readers to finish: Soviet equals totalitarianism, equals aggression, equals —war!

But Dallin leads his readers to implications still more sinister. Since, by his analysis, the "totalitarian" Soviet system is the last potential aggressor, and since that system is too firmly established to leave any hope for its collapse from within, the only way to ensure world peace is to overthrow the Soviet system by force from without, i.e., by American military action. This cynically constructed incitement is, of course, never put in explicit terms. Mr. Dallin takes care to leave his verbal alibi complete.

In elaboration of his thesis of Soviet aggression, Mr. Dallin indicates that Soviet efforts to have good neighbors on its borders is merely a mask for its revival of Czarist imperialism. The Soviet Union, in his presentation, appears as the revived Czarist Empire returning to the world-political stage in a Socialist costume, its expansionist ambitions sharpened by its ideology.

To add more lurid detail to the picture Dallin goes to the Nazis for "geopolitical" terrors. To avoid having to cite his Nazi sources, he returns to their British original, the geographer Mackinder, whom the German "space" theorists used, much as their "race" theorists used the Englishman, Houston Chamberlain. Soviet expansion, Dallin says, is in the direction of filling out its domination of the "heartland," the control area of the "world island" (the three joined continents, Europe-Africa-Asia), control of which, in geopolitical logic, assures world domination. The history of British relations with the Continent, in Dallin's interpretation, is an unceasing and successful effort to stave off such control by any continental European power. With greater or less help from allied European powers and, later, from America, Britain succeeded in defeating Spain, the French Bourbons, Napoleon, Wilhelm and Hitler. But it was British naval supremacy that made this success possible. Now that naval supremacy has passed to the United States, the responsibility of combatting the new Soviet threat of continental domination passes to the United States. This responsibility in the past involved frequent wars, and must again in the future. For example, England was obliged to wage twenty-seven wars in the nineteenth century to America's three. "It is therefore shortsighted," says Mr. Dallin, "to expect that America is headed for a long peace after this war." Again, by inference, Mr. Dallin's longed-for, inevitable American war on the Soviet Union!

For that inevitable war he even seeks to rehabilitate Japan and Germany. He forecasts the "reemergence of Japan as a *buffer* and *ally* [my italics—I. S.] in the witch knot of Far Eastern relations." Who is to be buffered and the target of the future Japanese alliance is not specified, of course, but it is elaborately implied in the context. As for Germany, "Europe needs German industry, railroads, coal and the capabilities of her people." Since these resources and capabilities were mainly used to mobilize anti-Soviet coalitions and finally to invade the Soviet Union, Dallin's appreciation of their future utility becomes understandable.

MR. DALLIN uses tricks that might be analyzed in psychology courses, and verbalisms that might serve professors of semantics as classroom examples. A greater profusion of loaded words would be hard to find in any other single book. This semantic strategy begins with an analysis of British imperialism in terms so seemingly frank that most readers are certain to be jolted. His characterization of British imperialism may be summed up in his own words: "No principles in foreign policy—this has been the only British principle." And it is buttressed with such quotations as this from Palmerston: "England has no permanent friends; she has only permanent interests." Thus in most readers any suspicions

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they might have about Mr. Dallin are quieted, and they go on in the illusion that the author is a plain-spoken man and too much the realist to permit himself any prejudices. And, as readers who have followed the reviews in other periodicals must have noted—the trick worked!

After such treatment of the British Mr. Dallin's characterizations of Soviet foreign policy as similarly unprincipled seems only an extension of plain speaking and realism. It would take an exceptionally well informed and cautious reader to see through the fraud and say, "hold on. British foreign policy and Soviet foreign policy cannot be equated. One has only to think of Chamberlain and Litvinov to realize the polar difference in the two policies."

And the cautious reader will notice something else. True, British imperialism is presented as unprincipled—but by judiciously loaded words is made to appear strong, confident, tenacious, shrewd, self-assured, efficient—and, above all, a useful stabilizing force in a sadly off-balance world. The picture resembles rather closely the one British historians have been wont to paint of the Roman Empire as a parallel, since the justification of one compels a justification of the other. In their picture which, incidentally, American historians have largely copied, the Roman Empire, for all its ruthlessness, is supposed to have spread civilization and imposed the *Pax Romana* on a world that otherwise might have destroyed itself by its dissensions. Dallin's British Empire is portrayed somewhat in the same mood of a glory that has passed to be succeeded, unless America prevents it, by a Soviet Dark Age. For by oppositely loaded words the implied Soviet "imperialism" is painted as inept, fumbling, crude, overbearing, ruthless, bringing not a *Pax Sovietica* but Communist chaos. In other words Mr. Dallin himself *implies* a vast difference between the two "imperialisms," a difference that by tricky word-weighting leaves a balance heavily in the Soviet's disfavor.

But the worst fraud of all, perhaps, is Mr. Dallin's jungle presentation of all international relations. He presents only the "*haute politique*" aspect, nothing of the continuous struggle of the people toward brotherhood which goes back 5,000 years to the revolutionary Pharaoh-Ikhnaten; which includes the effort, which Jefferson led to create, and Lincoln to sustain, our own union of states; which includes the struggle Lenin and Stalin led to fuse the disparate and repressed nationalities of old Russia into a federation of equals; and the effort which has culminated in the United Nations. "The coming period in world history," croaks Dallin, "will be, at best, a period of armed peace."

This is a treachery to the human spirit, even greater than the anti-Soviet slander out of which it grows. It is the treachery that allies Dallin with Bilbo in the same sort of union that allied his kind, in Germany, with Julius Streicher. It is the final abyss of cynicism in which all the anti-Soviet propagandists meet, though the doors from which they enter open from the plushy sanctums of newspaper and magazine chains, the genteel corridors of Yale, or certain executive offices of the AFL.

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER.

Poets Without Benefit of Publishers

THROUGH OUR GUNS, *by Aaron Kramer. Privately printed. $0.25.*

INJUNCTION, *by Vincent Ferrini. Sand Piper Publishers.*

HAND GRENADES, *by Barney Baley. Mercury Printing Co. $0.35.*

AS THE THUNDER AND THE LIGHTNING, *by Joseph Hoffman. Privately printed. $1.50.*

I BRING A SWORD, *by Paul Eldridge. Fine Editions Press.*

RENDEZVOUS WITH AMERICA, *by Melvin B. Tolson. Privately printed.*

LOVE IS A TERRIBLE THING, *by Beatrice M. Murphy. Hobson Book Press. $1.50.*

THE YEARS OF THE WHIRLWIND, *by Harry William Nelson. Privately printed. $0.50.*

POEMS OF PEACE AND FREEDOM, *by Sarah Cleghorn. New York State Branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. $0.50.*

PEOPLE write verse, lots of people, and publishers don't print it, lots of them. Nevertheless, a certain amount of poetry—both good and bad—does manage to struggle into print, much of it in paper-bound pamphlet form. The outward guise of this poetry is as varied as the tortuous, heartbreaking routes by which it finally emerges where people—at least a few people—can read it. But what stands out is the stubborn insistence of poets on writing and being read. Not even the manifold preoccupations of the war have stopped the flow of verse, and many of the versifiers have sought through their writing to be part of the anti-fascist struggle.

Aaron Kramer, for instance, private-

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ly prints a group of popularly conceived and popularly cast war poems. The directness of his expression and the emotional validity of his experience stand in sharp contradiction to the mores of the publishing world which force him to provide his own imprint. So sharp indeed is the contrast between his value and the probable size of the audience imposed on him that the temptation is to belabor publishers' indifference quite as much as to characterize his work. However, in it appears a clean, free rendering, sometimes ballad-like in quality, of themes universal to the anti-fascist world. Whether the subject be refugees, or Detroit war workers, or Meyer Levin, or Guernica, Kramer deals with themes important to his fellow human beings, and he does so in a public manner. Here is none of the private writing so often crippling the work of poets isolated from the people.

MORE individual, and more intensively reflecting the life of workers in war industry, is *Injunction* by Vincent Ferrini. Closely packed images, springing from life within the ranks of the workers, give sharpness and pithiness to the free verse bulk of the book. If there are occasional obscurities, it is not because Mr. Ferrini is given to windy, vague phrases, but because he pries too much into too little space. Though he shares fully in the life from the midst of which and about which he writes, he has not avoided wholly the temptation of writing for himself. His marked sensitivity and alertness are not fully at the disposal of those whose bitterness and labor he reflects. His mannerisms, his not wholly communicative form, tend to inhibit some of his content, but *Injunction* is the work of an authentic proletarian talent.

So also is *Hand Grenades*, a small volume of sonnets by Barney Baley, although here too is a contradiction between form and content, but of a quite different kind. Baley gives in direct, autobiographical, declarative verses a series of political lessons. For the most part the work is blunt in its didacticism, but lyrical effects enter the latter part of the book, which is arranged chronologically, and may represent a later stage in the writing. Here is a worker who speaks directly as a Communist and as one who tells with a compelling sense of immediacy some of the characteristic central facts of Communist life in the last decade. But Baley has not fully distinguished between the responsibilities of a careful reporter and that function of a poet which consists in heightening the reader's perception of reality by the use of the imagination.

The technical resources at the disposal of the poet likewise are not fully exploited. Baley takes so many liberties with the sonnet form that the question arises as to why he chose that form in the first place. The almost bewildering variations on the traditional rhyme-schemes of the fourteen line medium would be more understandable if mastery of the standard form were demonstrated. As it is the suspicion must occur that what we have here is not an enrichment of the sonnet form but a rebellion against it, a rebellion possibly stemming out of a general, socially justified mood of revolt, but lacking point here because the rebelled-against is a usable artistic tool, selected in the first instance by the writer and not imposed by a hostile outside force. A better solution would be derived from the normal workers' respect for tools, coupled with an understanding determination to make them his.

If Baley can close the gap between his urgent, significant content and his limp and uncertain form, he will be able to say to many readers things which he quite rightly knows are true for the many. But the honesty in *Hand Grenades*, the relevance to the central struggles of men today, will commend it to many as it stands.

Joseph Hoffman, striking a popular prophetic note, gives voice in *As the Thunder and the Lightning* to generalized aspirations of common people. The quality and direction of the verse are accurately indicated by the names of the two progressives who have supplied introductions to the book—Lucia Trent, the poet, and Don West, the preacher and teacher and organizer. And it is safe to guess that some of Hoffman's homely verse is and will be read and quoted and loved by people well outside the confines of the usual poetry reading public.

On a somewhat more sophisticated and more hortatory plane Paul Eldridge in *I Bring a Sword* writes a series of free verse treatments of themes centering around one grim problem—anti-Semitism. Using direct, bitter, staccato statement, the author presents a militant attitude of resistance to oppression.

Less intense and with much greater prosodic variety Melvin B. Tolson touches on the same material together with other, widely accepted democratic formulae in his patriotic war poem *Rendezvous with America*, reprinted from *Common Ground* (summer of 1942). With an easy flow of

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language and a wide range of historical reference he covers what is a kind of common denominator in the unity of our country and in the anti-fascist war. In almost manifesto form many of the domestic obstacles to full democratic participation in the war are listed, but the sharpness of his poetic effects often is blurred by a tendency to rhetoric or to mere prose utterance.

A woman's love is the substance of the poems of Beatrice M. Murphy in *Love Is a Terrible Thing*, some of which have appeared in the Negro press. Generalized and conventional in nature, these poems seem not to be written in wartime—or in any other particular time, and they have no more special point of view than that of any affectionate woman.

Touching on the war, but with perverse hostility to modern science and invention, are the poems of Harry William Nelson, which are commonplace when they are not confused.

Also concerned with war, but only in its negative aspects, is a new selection from Sarah Cleghorn's work, *Poems of Peace and Freedom*. This capable practitioner in the popular ballad form summarizes her Christian Socialist point of view in a way which has much to commend it as valuable people's poetry. If her poems of peace were not designed to help win the anti-fascist war, some of them at least look beyond the war to the objectives of those supporting it. For instance, her moving tribute to Debs for his resistance to the first World War contributes more to preserving our creative workingclass tradition than to discouraging workers' support of the anti-fascist military struggle. And if Sarah Cleghorn's capacity for sympathy with those on whom force is used is indiscriminate and leads to some impractical political conclusions, even to such absurdities as frantic objection to scientific vivisection of animals, it does include much that is part of our positive poetic heritage. For example:

The golf links lie so near the mill
That almost every day
The laboring children can look out
And see the men, at play.

PHILIP STANDER.

Lost Patrol?

SIX OF THEM, *by Alfred Neumann. Macmillan. $2.75.*

IN THE spring of 1943 students of the University of Munich distributed a handbill calling for the overthrow of the National Socialist regime, an end to the war, and the restoration of liberty throughout Europe.

Alfred Neumann's novel opens with the seizure of six persons by the Gestapo for this act of "treason." In the course of the preliminary interrogation each admits his or her part in the deed of resistance. At the trial before the "People's Court" the defendants talk freely of their past lives and the values they cherish, which make them desire the defeat of Germany. The five judges too engage in interior monologues, some banal and others full of disquiet and the foretaste of death. Often, as they question the prisoners, it is they and not the accused who seem anxious about their fate.

When the six have completed their testimony, they reject the defense attorney's formal plea for mercy, and are condemned to death by the ax. On the morning following the execution a shower of leaflets falls on the students assembled in the university auditorium. Six students are arrested. There are always six more.

Curious contradictions run through Neumann's book, but it would be arbitrary to say that they did not exist in reality. Professor von Hennings and his comrades, in a task which requires all their foresight and resourcefulness, ignore the most elementary precautions of underground workers. They meet in a seminar room where their discussions can be recorded by dictaphone. They fail to hide the typewriter, in itself a dangerous instrument to use for a mass leaflet. When captured, they deny their comrades' complicity so naively—while admitting their own—that the inspector has no difficulty reconstructing their actions. It's almost as if they felt driven to the bar of injustice, and craved the verdict of guilty to prove their integrity. Karl von Hennings says, "We don't belong to the forces of fate, but to those who would take the cross upon themselves." The handbill is written in his house "to establish my responsibility."

Christopher, a young Catholic from a peasant family, has a much deeper urge to self-destruction. When he was drafted into the army, he resisted by simulating, but also falling into, a cataleptic stupor. As he says, "I can initiate convulsion, but I never know when my body will release me from it again." His comrades, even Sophia who loves him, are tortured by the thought that he may have betrayed them out of uncontrollable fear. He too wants to assume responsibility to justify the others' trust in him. Fearing that a seizure be-

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fore the execution would prevent his sharing death with them, he hangs himself in his cell.

Why does Christopher induce such anguish in the others? Because they sense in him not ordinary fear, but neurotic guilt, the desire to identify himself with that Germany for which there is no penance, "not for a long time, because Germany does not recognize penance in the night." They know that he is still obsessed and ashamed of his individual rebellion, and they try to make him feel their solidarity with him against the evil society that frightens him with its monstrous values. For each of them, excepting Dora, Karl's wife, had once accepted or yielded to those values against which they now fight together.

Neumann's interest in Christopher creates a certain unbalance in the book. We are forced to consider his pathological character not merely as symptomatic of a breakdown in the German intellectual but as symbolic of the entire German people. It gives the impression that the problem of Germany is predominantly one of psychopathology. One could suggest, without direct portrayal, other forms of resistance, other social levels, and somewhat more material aspects of the conflict within Germany. The Six would then seem less like a lost patrol with nothing to guide them but the stars.

CHARLES HUMBOLDT.

Here and There

(*Continued from page* 19)

Europe, ran one on Hungary in which the real news was unhinted at in the captions and buried at the end of the article. That news was that the actual perpetrators of the outrages described in the text had proved to be Nazi-released Hungarian criminals disguised in Red Army uniforms.

• The American press hailed the admission of Argentina among the United Nations as victory of the American over the Soviet delegation. It has had occasion to rue that "victory" ever since, the latest occasion being a massacre of pro-United Nations demonstrators celebrating V-J Day.

• Considering the continuing activities of the Soviet-baiters the loss of Dr. Hugh Cabot, who died recently at the age of seventy-four, is all the more grievous. The world-famous surgeon won new fame for his effective work in establishing contacts between American and Soviet scientists and in bettering [illegible]can-Soviet relations.

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